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BY- KACHRU, YAMUNA
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AN INTRODUCTION TO HINDI SYNTAX IS PRESENTED FOR TEACHING THE SENTENCE STRUCTURE OF HINDI TO NON-HINDI SPEAKING LEARNERS OF THE LANGUAGE. THE ANALYSIS OF THE ELEMENTS OF THE HINDI SENTENCE AND OF SENTENCE TYPES WAS MADE BY USE OF TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMATICAL THEORY. THE MANUAL IS INTENDED FOR THE USE OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS WHO ARE ACQUAINTED WITH BASIC LITERATURE ON CONTEMPORARY LINGUISTICS. IT MAY BE USEFUL FOR STUDENTS IN A CLASSROOM SITUATION OR FOR INTERMEDIATE OR ADVANCED STUDENTS AS A REFERENCE GUIDE FOR USE WITHOUT THE AID OF A TEACHER. IN ADDITION TO A GLOSSARY, A BIBLIOGRAPHY IS INCLUDED THAT IS DIVIDED INTO TWO SECTIONS--(1) STUDIES ON GENERAL LINGUISTICS AND SYNTAX OF ENGLISH AND (2) STUDIES ON SYNTAX AND LEXIS OF HINDI. (AL)

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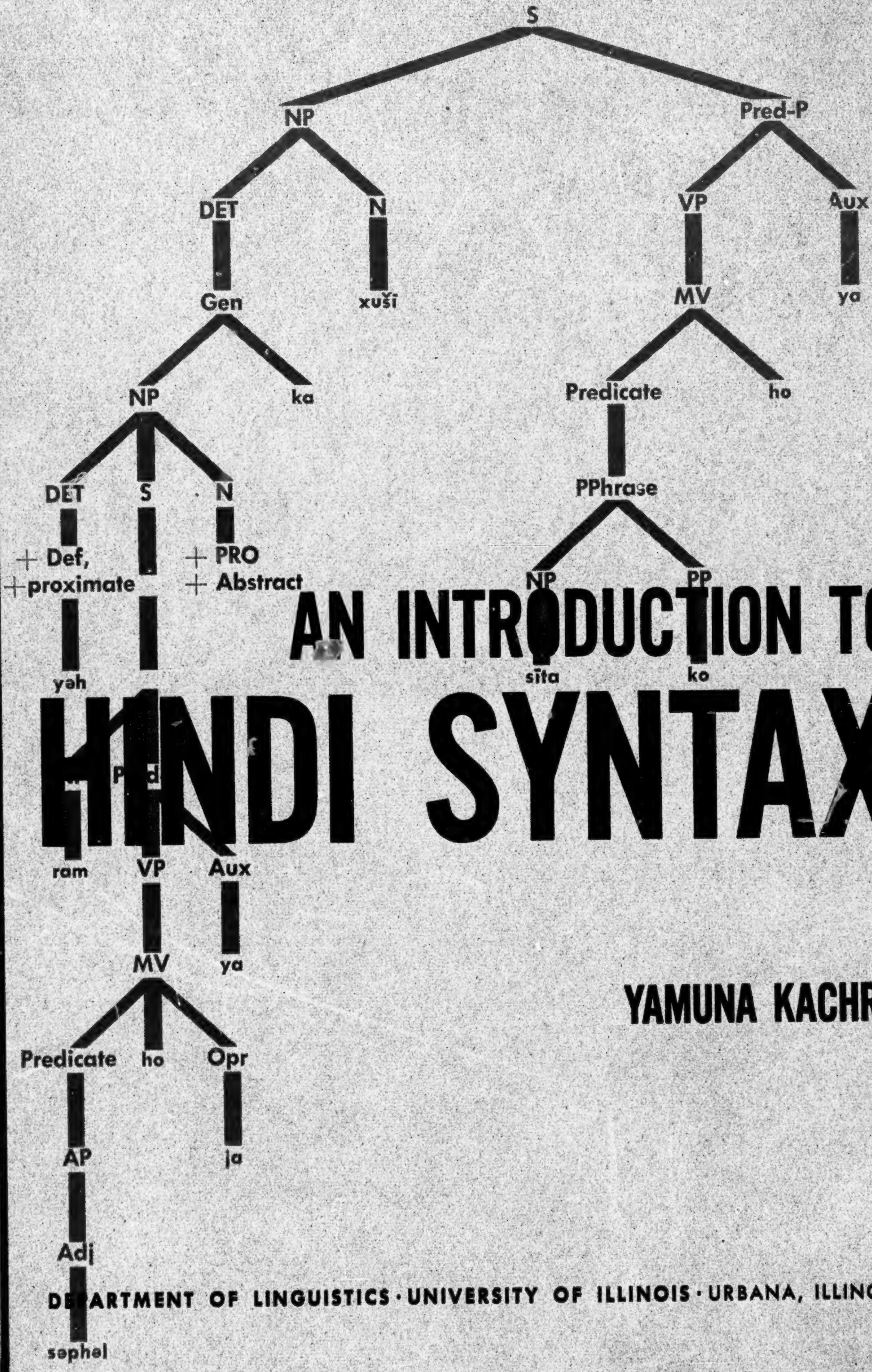
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AN INTRODUCTION TO HINDI SYNTAX

YAMUNA KACHRU

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS · UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS · URBANA, ILLINOIS

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AN INTRODUCTION TO HINDI SYNTAX

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS: UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA, ILL. 61801 U.S.A.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO HINDI SYNTAX

YAMUNA KACHRU

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA, ILLINOIS, 61801, U.S.A.

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington D.C. Contract no. 5-14-060, 1965-66. Project Director: Robert B. Lees, Head of the Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois. Principal Investigator: Yamuna Kachru, Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 61801, U.S.A.

CONTENTS

PREFACE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. INTRODUCTION 1

1.1. History of Hindi Grammar 2

1.1.1. Traditional Grammars 2

1.1.2. Historical Grammars 7

1.1.3. Structural Descriptions 8

1.2. Transformational Grammatical Theory 11

1.3. Transformational Grammar and Language Pedagogy 16

1.4. Transformational Grammar and Hindi 18

Notes and References 23

2.0. THE ELEMENTS OF THE HINDI SENTENCE 27

2.1. The Notions of Subject and Predicate 29

2.2. Structural Complexity of NP and VP 30

2.3. Conclusion 36

3.0. THE VERB PHRASE 37

3.1. Constituents of VP 37

3.2. Constituents of MV 37

3.2.1. Sub-classes of Verb 39

3.3. Agreement Rules 40

3.4. Summary 46

3.5. Compound and Conjunct Verbs 49

3.5.1. Compound Verb 51

3.5.1.1. [± ne] features of Operators 57

3.5.1.2. Co-occurrence restrictions between Operators and Aux 57

3.5.2. Conjunct Verb 57

3.6. Forms of Verb 61

3.7. Causative Sentences 62

3.8. Verbal Complements 81

3.9. The Auxiliary 85

3.9.1. Order of Elements in Aux 89

Notes and References 92

4.0. THE NOUN PHRASE 95

4.1. Constituents of NP 96

4.1.1. Relative Clause 98

4.1.2. Possessive and Genitive Phrases 103

4.1.3. NP-Complementation 111

4.2. Constituents of Determiner 119

4.3. Features of Noun 124

4.3.1. Inflections of Noun 130

4.4. Pronouns

4.4.1. Honorific/non-Honorific 133

Notes and References 135

5.0. ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS 137

5.1. Adjectives: Constituents of AP 138

5.1.1. Constituents of Degree:

Comparative and Superlative Adjectives 141

5.1.2. Derived Adjectives 150

5.2. Adverbs

5.2.1. Comparative Adverbs 161

Notes and References 176

6.0. THE SENTENCE TYPES 177

6.1. Negative 177

6.2. Interrogative 178

6.3. Passive 181

6.4. Imperative 184

6.4.1. Negative Imperative 185

Notes and References 187

7.0. CONJUNCTION 189

7.1. Deep Structure of Compound Sentences 189

7.2. Conjunctions in Hindi 190

Notes and References 193

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY 194

I. Studies on General Linguistics and Syntax of English 194

II. Studies on Syntax and Lexis of Hindi 203

GLOSSARY 209

INDEX 220

ERRATA 228

PREFACE

The theory of transformational-generative grammars, as well as the applications of this theory to specific languages, are in their beginning stages and are being discussed in current linguistic literature. Therefore, the present work cannot claim to answer all the theoretical questions satisfactorily, nor does it claim to be an exhaustive treatment of Hindi syntax.

In contemporary literature it has now generally been accepted that Noam Chomsky's Syntactic Structures (The Hague, 1957) introduced a serious rethinking and evaluation of the then current general linguistic theories. And later, when Robert B. Lees's The Grammar of English Nominalizations (Bloomington, 1960) appeared, it demonstrated in detail the power of transformational theory for the description of a particular language. In recent years a large number of western and non-western languages have been analyzed following this theoretical framework. As a result extremely valuable insights have been gained into human language behavior in general, and more specifically into the workings of particular languages. This attempt, therefore, to present some of the insights gained into the working of Hindi grammar is, I hope, neither too hasty nor too premature.

This analysis is primarily meant for what is termed a linguistically oriented language teacher or student - that is, a teacher and/or student who is acquainted with the basic literature on contemporary linguistics. A teacher may use it as a companion volume with other descriptions of Hindi.

I am grateful to Professor Robert B. Lees, Head of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Illinois, for many insightful and provocative discussions. I have drawn heavily upon his work on English grammar and other theoretical papers. Working with Professor Lees is a challenge (and a pleasure) both linguistically and otherwise, and I have profited from it a great deal. He directed the project both academically and administratively, which is a very rare combination.

This study will be used as a text in the course "The Structure of Hindi" (Linguistics 303), at the University of Illinois during the Spring Semester of 1967 and again during the Inter-University Rotating Summer Program in South Asian Studies in 1967. I am sure this will bring out the shortcomings in the work. I would appreciate it if comments and criticisms were sent to me.

The drawbacks of a "fixed-time contract" for concluding a research project will be apparent to the readers of this study. The editing of the manuscript was done under a very tight time-schedule and, naturally, it is far from satisfactory. I have added an "errata" sheet at the end of this study. It includes some of the more important corrections.

Yamuna Kachru

Department of Linguistics
University of Illinois
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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

$+$ concatenation symbol;

$A \rightarrow BC$ means rewrite A as B followed by C;

(   ) optional element, may or may not be selected;

$\left\{\begin{matrix} a \\ b \\ c \end{matrix}\right\}$ indicates choice, choose either a, or b, or c;

* precedes ungrammatical sentences

# boundary symbol

[$\pm$ abc] syntactic-semantic feature that characterizes an item;

S^* the initial designated symbol for sentence in a transformational grammar;

Imp Imperative;

J the relative morpheme in Hindi;

K the question morpheme in Hindi that is attached to various lexical categories;

NG Number and Gender;

Q Interrogative element that characterizes an interrogative sentence;

S sentence;

Adj Adjective;

ADV Adverb Phrase;

AP Adjective Phrase;

Aux Auxiliary;

Def Definite;

DET Determiner;

Demons Demonstrative;

fem	feminine;
Gen	Genitive;
Indef	Indefinite;
masc	masculine;
MV	Main Verb;
N	Noun;
NP	Noun Phrase;
Num	Numeral;
Opr	Operator;
PP	Postposition;
PPhrase	Postpositional Phrase;
Pred	Predicate;
Prox(im)	Proximate;
SADV	Sentence Adverb;
V	Verb;
Vi	intransitive Verb
Vt	transitive Verb
Vdt	double transitive Verb
VP	Verb Phrase

A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

The system of transcription followed in this study is essentially the same as in my *A Transformational Treatment of Hindi Verbal Syntax* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1965), except for I, i, ω, U, which have been replaced by i, Ī, u, ū, respectively. I have used ə and a for a and ā in usual transliteration. The rest of the symbols are basically those which are used for the transliteration of the Devanāgarī script into the Roman script.

INTRODUCTION

I. INTRODUCTION

This sketch of Hindi syntax may be treated as a manual for teaching the sentence structure of Hindi to non-Hindi speaking learners of the language. It may also be used by an intermediate and/or advanced student of Hindi as a reference guide for use without the aid of a teacher.

The author had two precise motivations in writing this description. The first was to exploit the insights into Hindi grammar that have been gained by the application of the transformational-generative model of grammars to the study of Hindi. The second was to see if it were possible to use such insights in relating language pedagogy to linguistic theory and thus bring a linguistic theory into the classroom in a serious sense. I do not claim that I have achieved the second aim, because that will be proved only after this manual has been used by teachers for at least two or three semesters in actual classroom situations. In order to make this work useful to teachers, I have added copious illustrations to the grammatical explanations.

I would like to make one claim here; that is, the application of the transformational model to the study of Hindi has resulted in deeper insight into the working of the Hindi grammar. Before justifying this claim by explaining what the contributions of transformational theory have been to linguistics, or how its application to Hindi has yielded significant results (see 1,2 and 1.4) it would not be out of place to consider briefly the history of Hindi grammar prior to the current decade.

A historical survey of existing works on Hindi grammar, and their strengths and shortcomings, will provide the proper background against which to discuss the recent work on Hindi.

1.1. History of Hindi Grammar

The work on the grammar of Hindi that was done prior to the current decade may be divided into three categories: (1) traditional grammars, (2) historical grammars, and (3) structural descriptions. Each of these categories will be discussed in some detail in the following pages. The works mentioned do not comprise an exhaustive list as no serious work has so far been done on the history of Hindi grammars.

1.1.1. Traditonal Grammars

Hindi emerged as a standard literary language after British rule was consolidated in India.[1] Before that, the dialects of Avadhī and Braj[2] were the main literary and cultural media of most of the Hindi speaking area. Hence, the beginnings of the history of Hindi grammar more or less coincide with the beginning of the history of the British attempt to learn Indian languages at the end of the 18th century.

There is, however, one work which precedes the British Empire in India. Johannes Josua Ketelaer, who served in India as an employee of the Dutch East India Company during the first two decades of the 18th century, wrote in Latin the first grammar of Hindustani.[3] The exact date of the work is not known, but it is assumed that it was written around 1715.[4] Ketelaer seems to have compiled three vocabularies of Hindustani also.[5] Although the value of his work in studying the development of Hindustani is quite apparent, one must remember that:

> "... Ketelaer does not describe the Standard Hindustani language. His is a popular Lingua Franca which he seems to have first picked

> up at Surat; he then probably improved his knowledge of it during his stay at Lahore, Delhi, and Agra. Here, too, he could have got the best Hindustani only in the royal entourage, the local dialects (except at Delhi) being forms of a patois differing considerably from standard Hindustani. Ketelaer became familiar with some of the special grammatical forms of Hindustani, but his grammar shows that he could not use them; he was largely content with the Bāzār dialect with which he managed. His knowledge of the common grammatical forms of this, too, was not very deep; and his stay in Surat did not help him to retain any correctness of his Hindustani, if he had at all acquired it in the North. At times it looked as if he wanted to compensate his want of positive knowledge by theorizing. The grammar that he could prepare is very meagre indeed, and wanting in both completeness and system. It is based rather on the haphazard notes of a busy man of Ketelaer's position, rather than on a scholar's detailed and leisurely study. Local Gujarati influence from Surat is noticeable..."[6]

At the end of the 18th century, the British increasingly felt the need to study the languages of North India in a systematic manner. John B. Gilchrist, who was responsible for teaching Hindi to the employees of the East India Company at the Fort William College in Calcutta,[7] had already written his Hindustani Grammar in 1790. This may be said to be the first systematic grammar of Hindi written according to western - especially English - tradition. Gilchrist's attempt was followed by Thomas Roebuck's The English and Hindustani Dictionary with a Grammar Prefixed (1810), William Yates' Hindustani Grammar (1824), John N. Platts'

Hindustani Grammar (1874), the Rev. M. T. Adam's Hindi Vyākaraṇ (in Hindi), (1827), and Duncan Forbes' A Grammar of the Hindustani Language (1846). The Hindi translation of the Rev. W. Ethrington's grammar(1870) was published under the title of Bhāshā-Bhāskar in 1871. The best grammar in this tradition was S. H. Kellogg's A Grammar of the Hindi Language which was first published in 1875. E. Greaves published his A Grammar of Modern Hindi in 1896 to "satisfy the immediate wants of those commencing the study of Hindi." [8]

All the grammars mentioned above, however, were not motivated by educational needs only. One powerful motivation was missionary work. As Greaves has clearly stated in the Preface to his grammar,

> "Primarily, however, the work of compiling the grammar was undertaken with a view to those who come out as missionaries to this country, and who have the very highest interests of the people at heart; and it was the hope that the book might thus in some humble way contribute to the coming of Christ's Kingdom..." [9]

In addition to these attempts by the foreigners, a small group of native grammarians were also active in the field. In 1856, Pandit Shri Lal published his Bhāshā Chandroday and in 1858, Pandit Ramjatan published his Bhāshā-Tatvabodhinī. Navinchandra Ray's Navīn Chandroday was published in 1868 and this was followed by Raja Shiva Prasad Sitare Hind's Hindi Vyākaraṇ, an attempt to account for the styles of both Hindi and Urdu. At this stage, many well-known writers [10] joined the ranks of the grammarians and wrote grammars of Hindi for pedagogical purposes. The first standard grammar of Hindi, Kamta Prasad Guru's

Hindī Vyākaraṇ was published in 1920 under the auspices of the Nāgarī Pracharinī Sabhā, Banaras (established in 1893). This work reflects the influence of western tradition as well as the tradition of Sanskrit grammars. It also draws from the works of grammarians of other Indo-Aryan languages, such as Marathi and Bengali. [11]

In addition to Kellogg's and Guru's grammars, the works that are referred to and used by the teachers and students of Hindi are E. Greaves' Hindi Grammar (1919), Kishoridas Vajpeyi's Hindī Shabdānuhāsan (1957) which was published under the auspices of the Nāgarī Prachārinī Sabha, Banaras, and Aryendra Sharma's A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi (1957) which was sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research of the Government of India.

The above brief history makes it clear that the grammars of Hindi show the influence of two traditions: (1) the ancient tradition of Sanskrit grammars and (2) the more modern tradition (for India) of English grammars. The grammars of English which influenced the Hindi grammarians themselves drew heavily on the ancient European tradition of Latin and Greek grammars. The traditional grammars of Hindi are thus based on the models of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. This has resulted in an unbalanced description of the language for the following reasons. Whereas the ancient languages, such as Sanskrit, Greek and Latin were highly inflected languages, Hindi, like English, has far fewer inflections. Consequently, word order is more important in Hindi. A detailed description of morphology went a long way in describing Sanskrit, Latin and Greek as word order was relatively unimportant in these languages. In Hindi, however, even an exhaustive description of morphology achieves very little, as the syntactic organization of elements is far more important. The traditional grammars of Hindi fail to give enough syntactic information as the models they chose had very little to offer them in this area.

Consider, for example, the treatment of Hindi syntax in the standard grammar of Kamta Prasad Guru. In a work of 586 pages, only 86 pages (pp. 421-506) have been assigned to syntax, and 55 pages have been used to demonstrate the techniques of parsing. The section on syntax covers the following topics: meaning and use of cases, appositional words, Subject, agreement between Object and Verb, Pronouns, Adjectives, and the Genitive case, meaning and the use of Tenses, Verbal Nouns, Participles, Compound Verbs, Indeclinables, Ellipsis, order of words and labeling of phrases. As opposed to the space allotted for syntax, morphology has been discussed in detail in almost 370 pages (pp.53-420).

The most recent work on Hindi grammar by Aryendra Sharma exhibits the same pattern. A work of 152 pages, it assigns a mere ten pages to syntax (121-130) and discusses only the topics of 'Concord' 'Voice and Construction' and'Order of Words'.

One example of how the application of the categories of description of Sanskrit to Hindi results in an unbalanced account of linguistic facts of Hindi is provided by the treatment of Hindi nominal compounds in various grammars. Whereas Vajpeyi and Guru consider compounds such as timənjila 'three-storied', sətkhəṇḍa 'of seven parts' etc. of Bahubrīhi type, Tewari considers dutəlla 'two-storied' an instance of Karmadhāraya.[12] Also, many words which are Prefix + Noun in Hindi, have been considered nominal compounds because they are treated as such in Sanskrit grammars.[13]

1.1.2. Historical Grammars

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, historical and comparative studies of languages became very fashionable in Europe. [14] The European scholars concentrated mainly on two things. On the one hand they compared languages of Europe and Asia, and pointed out that most modern European languages as well as Latin, Greek and Sanskrit derive historically from some common source. On the other hand, they took up detailed study of the historical development of particular languages, which resulted in very fine descriptions of old and medieval forms of some languages.

The first work dealing with an Indian language was Jules Bloch's La Formation de la Langue Marathe (1919). His subsequent work, Le Indo-Aryan, (1934) was the first short but systematic account of modern Indo-Aryan languages.

In India, one of the first scholars to achieve eminence in the field was Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, whose Origin and Development of Bengali (1926) inspired a number of such works. Dhirendra Varma's La Langue Braj (1935) and Baburam Saxena's The Evolution of Avadhi (1938) were followed by Dhirendra Varma's Hindī Bhāshā kā Itihās (1933) and Uday Narain Tewari's Bhojpurī Bhāshā aur Sāhitya and Hindī Bhāshā kā Udgam aur Vikās (1955). All these works enrich the tradition of historical studies begun by J. Beams' Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, published in three parts between 1872-1879, and Hoernle's Grammar of the Eastern Hindi (1880). Kellogg's grammar also contains a great deal of historical information, and statements about the dialects spoken in the so-called

Hindi area.

2.1.3. Structural Descriptions

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century presented a scene of wide-spread dissatisfaction with the exclusively historical linguistic studies. Linguists suddenly realized that the total emphasis on historical phenomena was obscuring the state of the living languages around them. The contemporary form of a language deserves just as much, perhaps even more, attention of linguists. As the older models of grammar, derived from the earlier work on classical languages, were not so useful in describing modern, especially non Indo-European languages, linguists rejected these models, emphasized the need to draw out a model from the language under study itself, and developed very precise tools of description. They attempted to make grammars more scientific by adopting the methods of elaborate listing of items, and developing rigorous procedures for classifying them. [15]

This trend of descriptive, or structural, linguistics did not become popular in India until the 1950's, and even then, no attempts were made to write a complete grammar of Hindi according to these methods. Some fragmentary studies of selected topics of Hindi grammar have been published, e.g., W. S. Allen, 'A Study in the Analysis of Hindi Structure';[16] J. G. Burton-Page, 'Compound and Conjunct Verbs in Hindi' [17] and 'Participial Forms in Hindi'; [18] P. Hacker, Zur Funktion einiger Hilfsverben im modernen Hindi, Mainz Akademie, 1958; and 'On the Problem of a Method for Treating the Compound and Conjunct Verbs in Hindi' [19] and Ramanath Sahai and Vishwajit Narain , 'The Structure of Noun Phrase in Hindi'.[20]

These studies do not show any deep insight into the structure of Hindi; on the contrary, they even lose the grammatical insights of the traditional works in their zeal for taxonomic classification. A good example of structural description is the paper by Sahai and Narain.[21] This paper merely records, mechanically, what elements can precede or follow a Noun in an endocentric construction, and sub-classifies them into the following types:

I. Adjective
II. Numerals
III. Possessive forms of Nouns etc.
IV. Demonstrative Pronouns etc.
V. Appositional Constructions
VI. Nouns or Pronouns with jɛsa
VII. Honorific Words and titles
VIII. Some cases where modifier follows noun.

Type I includes base Adjectives, derived Adjectives and Comparative and Superlative constructions; Type II includes all possessive and genitive phrases as well as terms such as infinitive of the Verb + ka; Type IV comprises demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns vəh, ve, yəh, ye, koī, kuch, kɔn, and kya; Type V considers structures such as, šyam ke pita pəṇḍit ramcəndr, 'Pandit Ramachandra, father of Shyam' Type VI refers to comparative constructions with jɛsa 'such as', type VII includes honorific words, titles, and designations that precede Proper Nouns or kinship terms. Some possible combinations of these various types and sub-types are listed, and the paper ends with specimen parsing of a few Noun Phrases.

The types that have been set up reveal the basic weakness of the approach. No attempt, for instance, has been made to determine what the main constituents of a Noun Phrase in Hindi are. The authors give no account of how the determiner system is related to relative and appositional constructions (the relative construction has been left out as the authors presumably did not consider so-called sub-ordinate clauses fell under 'modifiers'!). All the N + _ka_ phrases have been treated as constituting one single type, although the sources, and behavior of possessives, genitives, and other N + _ka_ phrases are entirely different. Although type VII has been recognized to be some sort of comparative construction, it has, nevertheless, been separated from Expansion B and C of type I.

Recently, one sketch of Hindi grammar has been worked out according to the Scale and Category Model of Michael A. K. Halliday (Shivendra Kumar Verma, _A Study in the Systemic Description of Hindi Grammar and Comparison of the Hindi and English Verbal Group_.)[22] It could safely be said that the sketch is based mainly on the traditional grammar of Kamta Prasad Guru, with some innovations drawn from the theory and use of different sets of technical terms. Most of these, unfortunately, fail to improve upon the traditional grammar; instead, they result in obscuring the grammatical points further. For example, let us consider the systems that have been set up to account for the verbal syntax. A system of transitivity and a system of aspect have been set up at clause _rank_; systems of voice, tense and aspect are set up at (verbal) group _rank_, and a system of aspect has again been set up for the element _Verb_. No statements have been made as to how these systems at various ranks relate to each other. Causal Verbs have been treated as merely a subclass of lexical Verbs, which shows an unawareness of the insight shown by such traditional grammarians as Kishori Das Vajpeyi. [23]

The systems of Causative and Passive should have been set up at clause rank and a system of Simple versus Compound Verbs at the (Verbal) group rank, which would have accounted for the grammatical facts of Hindi better. This failure in setting up systems at proper ranks results in an unsatisfactory account of not only Causative and Passive sentences but also of Compound and Conjunct Verbs.

Contemporary linguistic literature is full of discussion on why the structural models were not only inadequate but in many ways a backward step, too. (See e.g., Robert B. Lees' 'Transformational Grammars and the Fries Framework' [24] for a summary of arguments that point out the inadequacies of the structural models in comparison with the traditional models of grammar).

1.2. Transformational Grammatical Theory

Modern linguists, as yet, had not faced the basic questions concerning human linguistic behavior. For instance, questions such as (a) what is the nature of human language, (b) what characterizes the capacity that enables a child to internalize the grammar of his native language within the first five to seven years of his life, (c) what is the nature of the creative aspect of linguistic activity that enables a mature speaker to construct infinitely many new sentences and understand them.

Though these questions have been worrying linguists of earlier times also, it was Noam A. Chomsky who first raised them succinctly in his

Syntactic Structures.[25] He suggested that the answer perhaps lay in the following assumptions: Language is 'a set (finite or infinite) of sentences, each finite in length, and constructed out of a finite set of elements.'[26] That is, each language is comprised of an infinite number of sentences. Each individual sentence is finite in length, although no one can prescribe what is the longest sentence in any particular language, and every sentence is constructed from a relatively limited number of elements (roots/stems of a language, endings, sounds, etc.) The task of the grammar of a language is to specify how the elements are organized in that language to produce sentences. It is obvious that even the simplest sentence of a human language is not a mere linear arrangement of words, endings, etc. If it were so, the following would be a perfectly good sentence in Hindi since it is composed of words and other grammatical elements of Hindi, but even a beginning student of Hindi can tell it is not:

* *əpna* *bura* *bəhut* *mujhse* *pərəspər*

'own' 'bad' 'very' 'me from''each other'

Or, to take another example, if it were true that a Hindi sentence is a linear arrangement of Hindi words belonging to different parts of speech, the following two sentences should be understood in the same way, but they are not:

1. *Ram šyam ko mūrkh ləgta hɛ*

   'Ram'Shyam''to''fool''appears'

   'Ram appears (to be) a fool to Shyam.'

2. *Ram šyam ko mūrkh səməjhta hɛ*

   'Ram''Shyam''to' 'fool''considers'

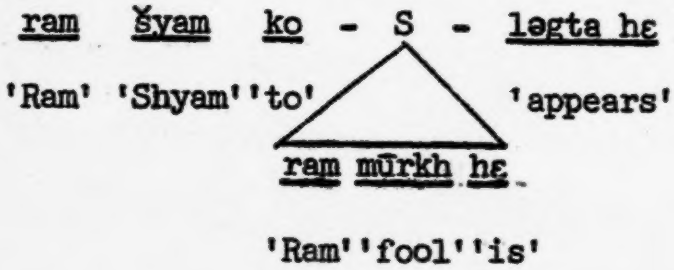
   'Ram considers Shyam a fool.'

Notice that both the sentences can be represented by the following abbreviated grammatical notation of sentence structure of the structural linguists:

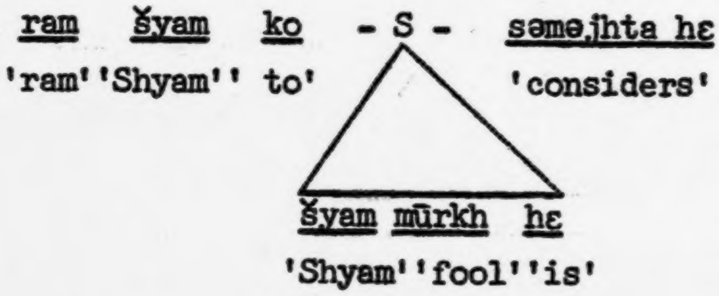
N N-ko Adj V-Aspect-Tense

Yet, they are understood very differently. In 1, the adjective mūrkh refers to ram whereas in 2, it refers to šyam. It is obvious, therefore, that mere description of word classes and the sequences of these that are found in the sentences of a language is not adequate. A grammar has to go deeper and describe also the ways in which elements in a sentence are related to each other, i.e., to explain that the organization of sentence 1 is different from 2 above in a precise manner, although both involve the same elements. A grammar of Hindi can make the difference between the two sentences apparent by analyzing them in the following manner:

1.

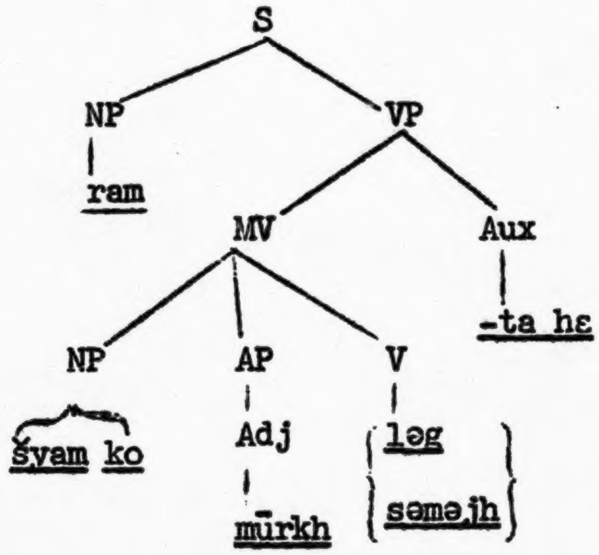

ram šyam ko - S - ləgta hɛ
'Ram' 'Shyam' 'to' 'appears'
ram mūrkh hɛ
'Ram' 'fool' 'is'

2.


ram šyam ko - S - səməjhta hɛ
'ram' 'Shyam' 'to' 'considers'
šyam mūrkh hɛ
'Shyam' 'fool' 'is'

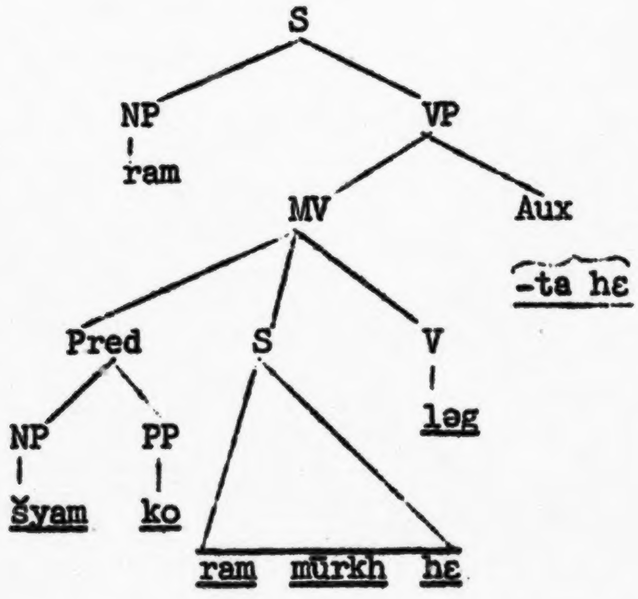
That is, both the verbs ləgna and səməjhna take a copula sentence as Complement, but the condition that applies to such complements differs in the two cases. For *ləgna*, the subject of the copula sentence must be identical to the subject of *ləgna*, for *səməjhna* the subject of the copula sentence must be identical to the object of *səməjhna*. That is why, although the *surface* structure of both the sentences is identical, the *deep* or *underlying* structure shows very different relationships between *ram*, *šyam* and *mūrkh*. The following diagram makes this clear:

Surface structure of 1 and 2

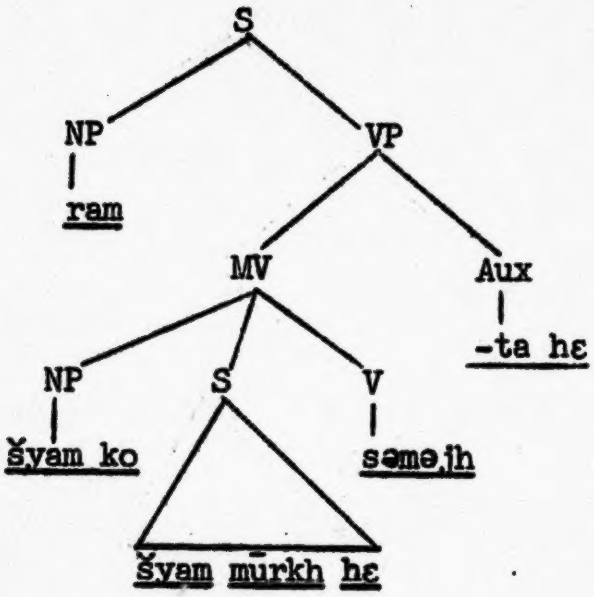

S
NP
VP
ram
MV
Aux
-ta hɛ
NP
AP
V
šyam ko
Adj
mūrkh
ləg
səməjh

Deep Structures

Sentence 1.


S
NP
VP
ram
MV
Aux
-ta hɛ
Pred
S
V
ləg
NP
PP
šyam
ko
ram mūrkh hɛ

Sentence 2.



The central task of a grammar of Hindi is thus to specify a set of rules - which may be very abstract - which explains on the one hand how the elements of that language are combined to generate grammatical sentences such as 1 and 2, and on the other hand prevent the generation of such ungrammatical sequences as:

əpna bura bəhut mujhse pərəspər

'own' 'bad' 'very' 'me from' 'each other'

Now the question arises, in order to achieve the aims formulated above, what form of a grammar must we have? Chomsky proposed a form of grammar which will contain three parts: a syntactic component, a phonological component, and a semantic component. The syntactic component itself consists of two kinds of rules: constituent structure rules and transformational rules. The former specify the grammatical categories and how they are related to each other in the deep structure of the sentences of a language, the latter change the arrangement of deep structure in various ways to generate the surface structure of sentences. Notice that the deep structures are very abstract representations of sentences, and that they contain all the information that is necessary for the semantic interpretation of sentences.

It is the surface structures which are interpretable in phonological terms, i.e., they are assigned phonetic form by the phonological rules, and thus end up as ascertainable sentences.

As Chomsky was the first linguist to point out the need for transformational rules, his theory became known as the 'transformational theory'.

What has been said so far should not give the false impression that 'generate' means 'produce', or that the transformational grammars make claims about duplicating the inherent ability of a native speaker of a language. What the grammar does is as follows: it gives (1) a list of the elements of a language, (2) rules about how to juxtapose them, and (3) specifications of operations that are performed on organized parts of sentences, which are labeled, to generate new organized parts of more complex sentences. It thus provides a better approximation to the nature of human linguistic competence suggested by the creative aspect of linguistic activity.

1.3. Transformational Grammar and Language Pedagogy

Transformational grammar provides new insights into how language works, hence, it is reasonable to assume that pedagogical works based on this model will improve the understanding of the students of a language. The aim of the transformational grammar is to state explicitly all those rules of the language that were left to the intuitive understanding of the reader in the traditional grammars. For instance, no traditional grammar of Hindi (or any other language, for that matter) specifies all the relevant syntactic features of lexical items of Hindi. To take one example, it is not explained that there are certain Verbs that take a sentential complement, whereas certain other Verbs do not; or that some Verbs take a particular type of complement whereas others take a different type.

Compare the following:

usne bətaya ki vəh kəhã ja rəha hɛ
'He' 'told' 'that''he' 'where' 'go''-ing''is'
'He told where he was going.'

* *usne kəha ki vəh kəhã ja rəha hɛ*
'He' 'said' 'that''he''where''go'-ing' 'is'
'He said where he was going.'

or the following:

usne kəha ki šyam hə̃s rəha tha
'he' 'said''that''Shyam''laugh'-ing''was'
'He said that Shyam was laughing.'

usne dekha ki šyam hə̃s rəha tha
'He' 'saw' 'that''Shyam''laugh-ing''was'
'He saw that Shyam was laughing.'

* *usne šyam ka hə̃sna kəha*
'He''Shyam' 'of' 'laughing''said'
'He said Shyam laughing.'

usne šyam ka hə̃sna dekha
'He''Shyam' 'of''laughing''saw'
'He saw Shyam laughing.'

That is, whereas *bətana* takes a sentence complement with a question-word in it, *kəhna* does not; and whereas both *kəhna* and *dekhna* take a sentential complement, only *dekhna* takes a nominalization of a sentence (*šyam ka hə̆sna*) as a complement. A transformational grammar attempts to make all such syntactic features of Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, etc. explicit. Admittedly, this makes the task of the grammarian much more difficult, but, such explicitness makes it easier to compare and contrast the rules of two or more languages, and to see to what extent those languages are similar or different in their structure. An awareness of such differences between the mother tongue and the target language (i.e., the language one is trying to learn) is extremely helpful to the learner.

What has been said so far about the ideas underlying the transformational theory brings an entirely new philosophy to linguistic research, and to language pedagogy. Learning a language is *not* viewed as a mechanical activity of memorizing a limited number of words, phrases, sentences, etc., although drills surely have their usefulness in mastering the pronunciation. Instead, learning a language is recognized to be a highly creative activity. The ultimate purpose of language learning, and teaching, is to obtain,or help the learners in obtaining, the competence in the target language that will enable him to engage in the creative activities that speaking, reading and writing a language involve.

1.4. Transformational Grammar and Hindi

As the application of the transformational theory revealed very interesting facts about the structure of English and other languages(see the bibliography for a list of such works), it was also adopted for the description of Hindi. Disregarding the fragmentary, tentative analyses which were produced on various topics, three works may be mentioned as examples of partial transformational grammars: Kali Charan Bahl, A Study in the Transformational Analysis of the Hindi Verb; [27] Yamuna Kachru, A Transformational Treatment of Hindi Verbal Syntax; [28] and Manindra Kishore Verma: A Synchronic Comparative Study of the Structure of the Noun Phrase in English and Hindi. [29]

The sole aim of the first work is 'to interpret the underlying grammatical structure of compound and conjunct verbs in the language;' [30] the second study attempts to specify 'the set of grammatical rules by means of which new Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs are created, which explain the traditional grammatical notion of Nominals, Adjectivals, and Adverbials being derived from Verb Phrases of various types.' [31] The third formulation presents:

> " A study of the comparative structure of the noun phrase in English and Hindi with emphasis on characterizing the essential structural nature of the two systems and the similarities and dissimilarities between them. The attempt has been to account for the comparative picture in reference to their categorial structures, the scope and nature of the transformational operations, and their overall characteristic tendencies in manipulating the constituents of the phrase to obtain various kinds of strings. The insight obtained through a study of this kind, it is hoped, can be helpful in the preparation of pedagogical contrastive grammars or, with further work, translation algorithms." [32]

The first work, though characterized as a 'generative-transformational grammar of modern standard Hindi' [33] really falls between a structural description and a transformational grammar. A large amount of data has been painstakingly collected, and classified according to various formal criteria. It is, however, hard to see what motivates the setting up of numerous postpositions (*Introduction*, pp. 44-46) and categories such as Locus constituents (*Constituent Structure*, p.69), N_{1vad} N_{2vad} N_{1comp} N_{2comp} N_{1cop} E_{Adj} etc. The arguments for rejecting the notions of Indirect Object and Conjunct Verb are not convincing. The attempt to substitute the notion of Indirect Object by Locus Constituents has resulted in unfortunate confusion of the categories of Direct and Indirect Objects with categories of various adverbials such as agent, concomitant, directional etc. It is hard to understand why *bəcca* in the following sentence is an instance of Object:

nyayaləy ne bəcca dəyakišan ki pətnī ko sɔ̃p diya

'The court entrusted the child to Dayakishan's wife.'

whereas *beṭe ko* in the following sentence

mã ne beṭe ko bəhū ko sɔ̃p diya

'The mother entrusted the son to her daughter-in-law.'

is an instance of L_2*ko* (the above sentence has been said to illustrate the sequence L_2 *ko* + L_1 *ko* on pp. 93-94). The approach adopted has led to unmotivated classification of verbs into unnatural sub-classes and inclusion of a wide variety of phenomena under postpositions and categories such as $N_{1\ vad}$ $N_{2\ vad}$ etc.

The second work motivates setting up of various sub-classes of Verbs, such as Copula, Intransitive, Transitive and Compound and Conjunct Verbs in Hindi, points out the need to derive the passive and causative sentences transformationally, and attempts to explicitly state the processes that generate derived Nominal, Adjectival and Adverbial expressions. The account of passive and causative sentences contained in this work is not very satisfactory, and the processes of Nominal and Verbal Complement Constructions do not emerge clearly. The work has already been revised in parts, [36] and a completely revised version is under preparation.

The third work provides an insightful analysis of the Noun Phrase in Hindi and brings out the similarities and differences between the structures of NP in English and Hindi very clearly. The constituents of NP, such as various kinds of Determiners, and the constraints between the Determinate Determiners and Relative and Appositive clauses are well-motivated. The class of limiters comprising such elements as

> sirf...hī, bəs...hī, kəm se kəm ...to, khas kər... to, yəhã tək ki ... bhī, iske əlava ... bhī etc., explains the structure of NP's such as:
>
> > mɛ̃ ne sirf car hī kitabẽ xəridī̃
> >
> > 'I' 'only four books' 'bought'
> >
> > 'I bought only four books.'

more satisfactorily than the previously existing descriptions.

In this work, an #S# has been posited in the rewrite of NP to provide for Nominalization. This does not account for the facts, and leaves cases such as the following out of the description:

vəh kəb aya yəh mujhe malūm nəhī̃

' I do not know when he came.'

mɛ̃ yəh janta hū̃ ki vəh kəb gəya

' I know when he went.'

The following reqrite would be better:

NP → DET #S# N

The Nominal Compounds, Possessive genitive constructions, the vexing question of Conjunct Verbs (and their reflexes in the NP) etc. are topics which need further research. As none of the transformational rules are explicitly formulated, the systematization of the detailed discussion of constructions contained in this work is also a necessity.

Other works such as unpublished papers presented at various gatherings of linguists etc., which deal with interesting topics of Hindi grammar within the transformational framework, are cited in the Notes following the appropriate sections and are also listed in the bibliography at the end.[37]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Hindi was adopted as the literary medium for prose in creative writing around 1850.
2. These dialects of Western Hindi were the main literary medium in the medieval period of Hindi literature (1350-1850).
3. See Chatterji, Suniti Kumar: "The Oldest Grammar of Hindustani", *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. II, 1965 [Reprint edition of Volumes 9-15(1953-44)], 68-83.
4. *Ibid*.
5. *Ibid*.
6. *Ibid*.
7. Fort William College was established in 1800, and Gilchrist was the Professor of Hindustani there from 1800-1804.
8. Greaves, E. *A Grammar of Modern Hindi*, Banaras, 1896.,Preface. This work was later expanded and published as *Hindi Grammar* in 1919.
9. *Ibid*.
10. See Mishra, V., *Hindi Bhāshā aur Sāhitya per Angrezī Prabhāv* (1870-1920); Dehradun, 1963, 166-71; Guru, *op*. *cit*., Preface.
11. Guru, *op*. *cit*.,Preface
12. Vajpeyi, *op*. *cit*. 317; Guru, *op*. *cit*., 1957 edition, p.404; Tewari, U. N., *Hindī Bhāshā ka Udgam aur Vikās*, 1955, p. 475.
13. See Jain, R. C., *Hindī samās-recnā kā adhyayan*, Agra, 1964, 16-24 for a detailed criticism of existing treatments of nominal compounds in Hindi.
14. See Gleason, Henry A. Jr., *Linguistics and English Grammar*, 1965,

'Comparative Grammar', 31-7 for a short history of this development.

15. See *Ibid*. 37-47 for a brief history of this phase of development.

16. *Acta Linguistica*, VI, 1950-1

17. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XIX, 1957.

18. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XIX, 1957.

19. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXIV, 1964.

20. *Indian Linguistics*, 25, 1964

21. *Ibid*.

22. Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, 1964.(Unpublished).

23. See the section on causative verbs in his *Hindī Shabdānushāsan*, 1957, 456-76.

24. Allen, Harold B., ed., *Readings in Applied Linguistics*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1964.

25. Chomsky, N., *Syntactic Structures*, 's Gravenhage, 1957.

26. *Op*. *cit*. p. 13

27. Prepared under a contract with the United States Office of Education 1964 (mimeographed).

28. Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1965 (unpublished).

29. Ph. D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1966 (unpublished).

30. Bahl, *op*. *cit*. Preface

31. Kachru, *op*. *cit*. Introduction, 2.2.19

32. Verma, *op*. *cit*. Chapter V, Conclusion, 263

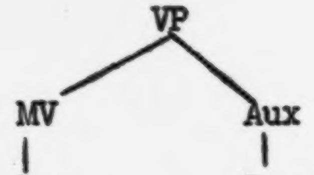
33. Bahl, *op*. *cit*. Preface

34. Ibid. *Appendix I*, Sentence 597, 31.

35. Ibid. *Constituent Structure*, 89.

36. See the bibliography for papers by Y. Kachru which contain such revisions.

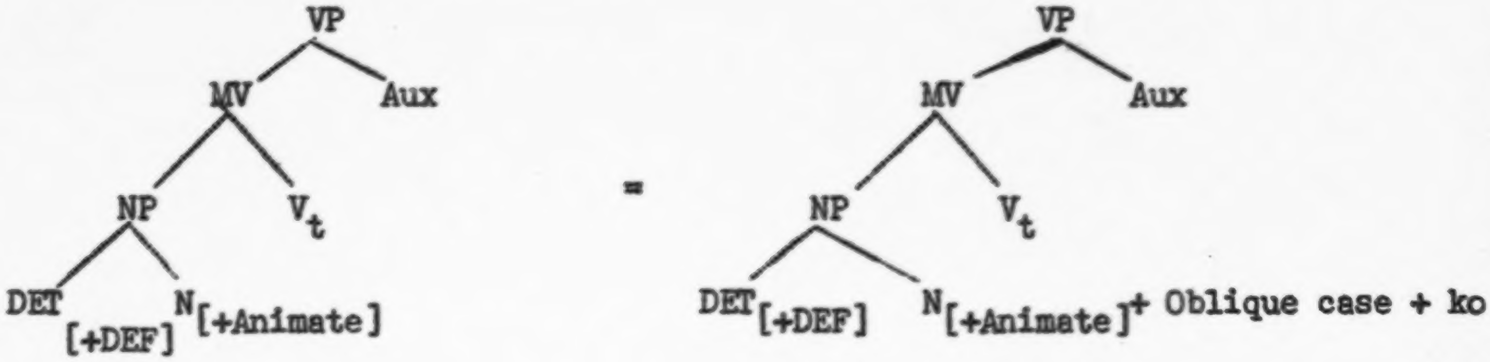
37. In the diagrams on pages 13, 14 and 15, and those in subsequent sections of this work, grammatical formatives such as the Aux element -ta, -ya (Present, Past) have been used, but it has not been explicitly stated how these combine with the preceding V's, Opr's, Modals etc. That is, the diagrams assume the following combinations, given on the left, result in the forms given on the right:



ho 'be' Present = hɛ 'is'

ja 'go' -ya 'Perfective' = gəya 'went'

The diagrams also assume that if the Direct Object is Animate/Definite, then it is followed by the postposition ko, and the N before a postposition takes the oblique case, i.e.,



but no explicit statements have been made about these.

The theory of transformational grammar provides a special subcomponent for such rules known as morphophonemic rules. The morphophonemic rules operate on strings generated by the constituent structure and transformational rules, and the resultant strings undergo the *phonological rules*. As we have been mainly concerned with the grammatical explanation of sentence-structures of Hindi in this work, no detailed explanation of the *morphophonemic rules* has been given. Actually, these rules are not hard to deduce, and as such, this gap should not present any insurmountable difficulties in the understanding of the grammatical discussions.

THE ELEMENTS OF THE HINDI SENTENCE

2.0. THE ELEMENTS OF THE HINDI SENTENCE

In our Introduction we have explained in detail what we mean by language and grammar. A language is a set of sentences, and a grammar is a set of rules that specify the sentences of a language. The notion rule is not to be understood in the sense of prescriptive or non-prescriptive, but rather in the sense of what organization of elements is allowed by a particular language to form sentences in that language.

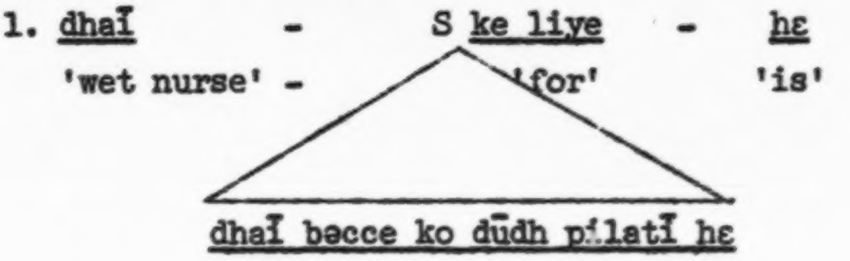
It was also pointed out that although the sentences of a language are composed of sets of elements - words, endings, etc. - the arrangement of elements that is permitted by a language is not simple. For example, a Hindi sentence is not merely a sequential arrangement of Hindi words, endings, etc., even though a written Hindi sentence looks very much like it. If it were a mere left to right arrangement, the following two sentences would be understood in the same way:

1. dhaī bəcce ko dūdh pilane ke liye hɛ

2. botəl bəcce ko dūdh pilane ke liye hɛ

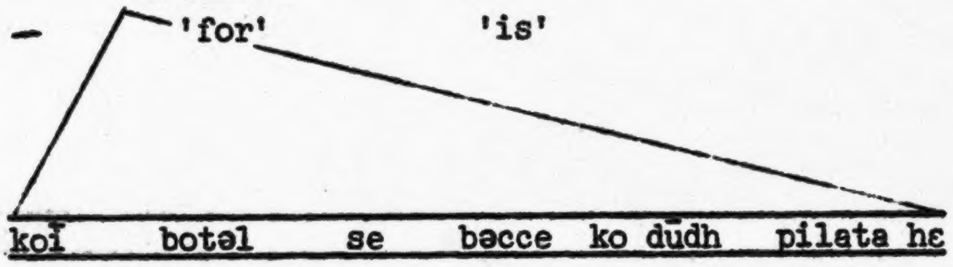
1. 'The wet nurse' } is for feeding the baby.'
2. 'The bottle'

But, they are not. The relationship of dhaī to bəcca and pilana is not the same as that of botəl to bəcca and pilana. The following simple diagrams make these relationships clearer:



'The wet nurse feeds milk to the baby.'

2. botəl - S ke liye - hɛ
'bottle' - 'for' 'is'



koī botəl se bəcce ko dūdh pilata hɛ
'someone''bottle' 'with' 'child' 'milk' 'feeds'
'Someone feeds milk to the child with a bottle.'

The diagram for sentence 1 makes it clear that it is actually made up of two sentences, and in the Embedded Sentence (i.e., S followed by ke liye in the diagram), dhaī 'wet nurse' is the Subject of the Verb pilatī hɛ 'feeds'. Similarly, the diagram for sentence 2 makes it clear that in the embedded S in that sentence, koī is the Subject and botəl se 'with bottle' is an Instrumental Adverb.

The question may arise, why is it necessary to postulate that koī is the Subject of the embedded S in sentence 2, when it does not appear in it at all. The answer is that, although no specific subject is mentioned, the way the sentence is understood implies that someone feeds the child with a bottle. The postulation of $N_{[+PRO]}$ i.e. the PRO-form of a N, is necessary for the correct interpretation of the sentence. Consider sentences such as the following:

3. kəhte hɛ̃ ki vyayam svasthy ke liye əccha hɛ
'say' 'that''exercise' 'health' 'for' 'good' 'is'
'It is said that exercise is good for health.'

In the above example, kəhte hɛ̃ is the finite Verb of the sentence, and the sentence following ki is what is said, i.e., the Object of the finite Verb.

There is no Subject in 3. But, the way the sentence is understaood, it is clear that no particular person is implied, some indefinite subject such as log 'people' is implied. Any Hindi speaker will paraphrase the sentence as:

3a. log kəhte hɛ̃ ...

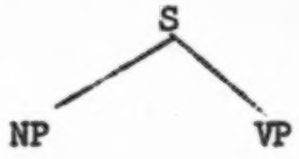
'People say .....

For a more detailed discussion of $N_{[+PRO]}$, see Section 4.0.

The above discussion makes it clear that the organization of elements in a sentence is more complex than a mere sequential arrangement would be. But, the complex arrangement can be explained by analyzing the complex sentences into simple sentences of which they are composed and by showing by diagrams such as the above how these simple sentences are related to each other, or to particular elements of a sentence.

We shall continue our discussion of how Hindi sentences are constructed in the following pages.

2.1. As all Hindi grammars say, a Hindi sentence consists of a Subject, and a Predicate. It is not very easy to say what a Subject is, and what a Predicate is. In fact, it is not necessary to define what a Subject or a Predicate is in the very beginning. It is a function of a grammar to define what a Sentence is, what a Subject is, and so forth. Let us confine ourselves to the statement that a simple sentence consists of a Subject which is a Noun Phrase (abb. NP), and a Predicate which is a Verb Phrase (abb. VP). This can be represented by a simple diagram:

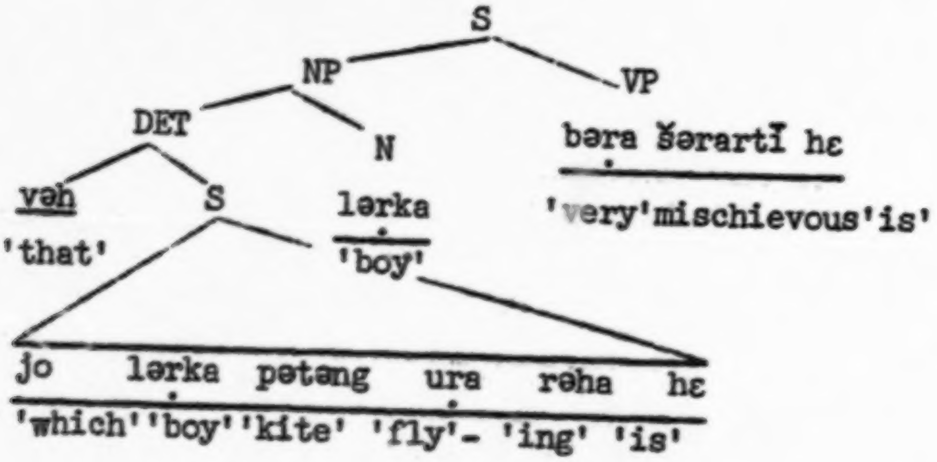


Now we can say that Subject is 'NP of S' and Predicate is 'VP of S'. Still, we do not know what Subject or Predicate is, and we do not know what NP is or what VP is. All we know is that NP and VP are elements that make up a sentence, and the terms Subject and Predicate express grammatical relations, namely, 'NP of S', and 'VP of S' respectively. (See sub-section 3.4. for a summary of simple sentence types discussed in section 3.0.)

2.2. The internal structure of NP or VP is not very simple, and hence cannot be described in a sentence or two. This can be seen clearly if we consider the following sentences:

4. jo ləṛka pətəng uṛa rəha hɛ vəh bəṛa šərartī hɛ
   'The boy who is flying a kite is very mischievous.'
5. yəh zahir hɛ ki mɛ̃ əngrezī nəhī̃ janta
   'It is obvious that I do not know English.'
6. mɛ̃ ram ko bəhut mehnətī səməjhta hū̃
   'I consider Ram very industrious.'
7. mɛ̃ cahta hū̃ ki ap hindī sīkh lɛ̃
   'I wish you could learn Hindi.'

To make the relationship of the elements in the above sentences clear, we can draw the following diagrams:


S
NP
VP
DET
N
bəṛa šərartī hɛ
'very'mischievous'is'
vəh
'that'
S
ləṛka
'boy'
jo ləṛka pətəng uṛa rəha hɛ
'which''boy''kite' 'fly'- 'ing' 'is'

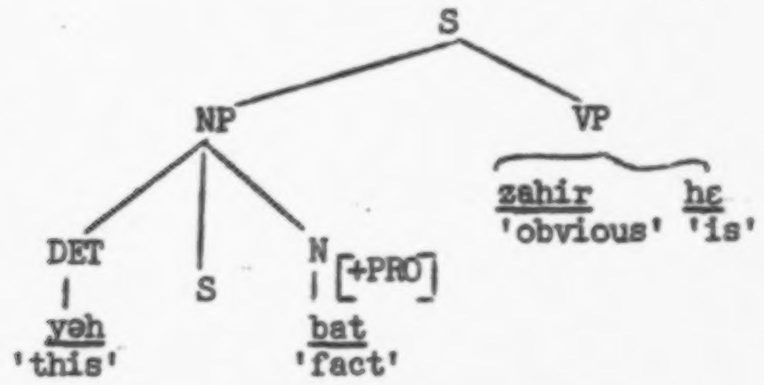
The diagram claims the following: the string (a) is the 'NP of S', and the string (b) is the 'VP of S'.

(a) yəh - j̣o ləṛka pətəng uṛa rəha hɛ - ləṛka
'that' 'which' 'boy' 'kite' 'fly' '-ing' 'is' 'boy'

(b) bəṛa Šəreartī - hɛ
'very' 'mischievous' 'is'

This seems to be correct, because the way we understand the sentence is as follows: the main sentence claims that a *specified* boy is very mischievous, and the subordinate clause specifies that the boy is the one who is flying a kite. Thus the NP, in its internal structure, contains a S.

Similarly, sentence 5 could be analyzed as:



ki mɛ̃ əngrezī nəhī̃ j̣anta

'That''I''English''not''know'

The diagram makes it clear that the 'NP of S' is:

yəh - ki mɛ̃ əngrezī nəhī̃ j̣anta - bat
'this' 'that''I' 'English' 'not' 'know' 'fact'

and the'VP of S' is:

zahir hɛ
'obvious''is'

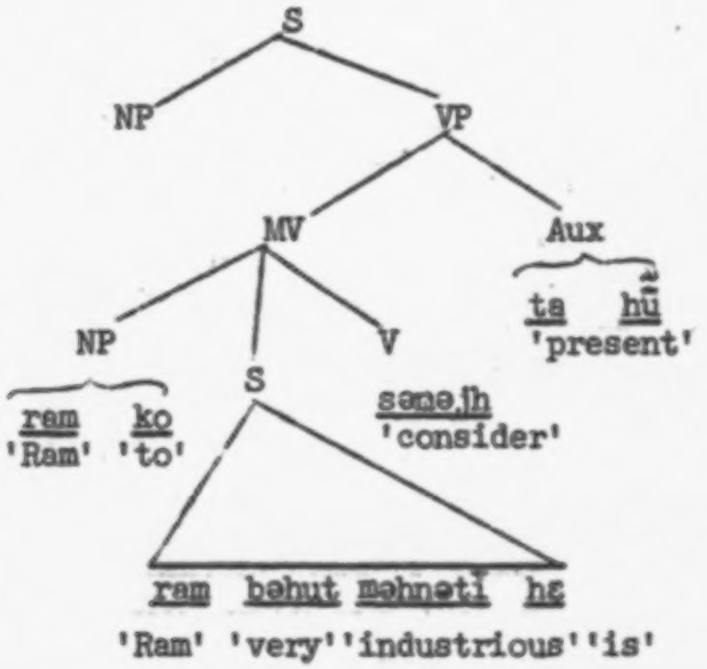
That is to say, the subordinate clause

ki mɛ̃ əngrezī nəhī̃ j̣anta
'that''I' 'English' 'not' 'know'

explains the'fact' that is 'obvious'. Although the $N_{[+PRO]}$ bat 'fact' does not appear in sentence 4, the way we understand the sentence makes it clear that some such element must be present in the Underlying Structure (cf. 1.0.).

Sentences 6 and 7 can be used to exemplify the complex structure of VP. This is clear if we consider the following diagrams:

6.


S
NP
VP
MV
Aux
ta hū̃
'present'
NP
S
V
ram ko
'Ram' 'to'
səməjh
'consider'
ram bəhut məhnətī hɛ̃
'Ram' 'very''industrious''is'

This is not an unmotivated claim. Compare the following sentence:

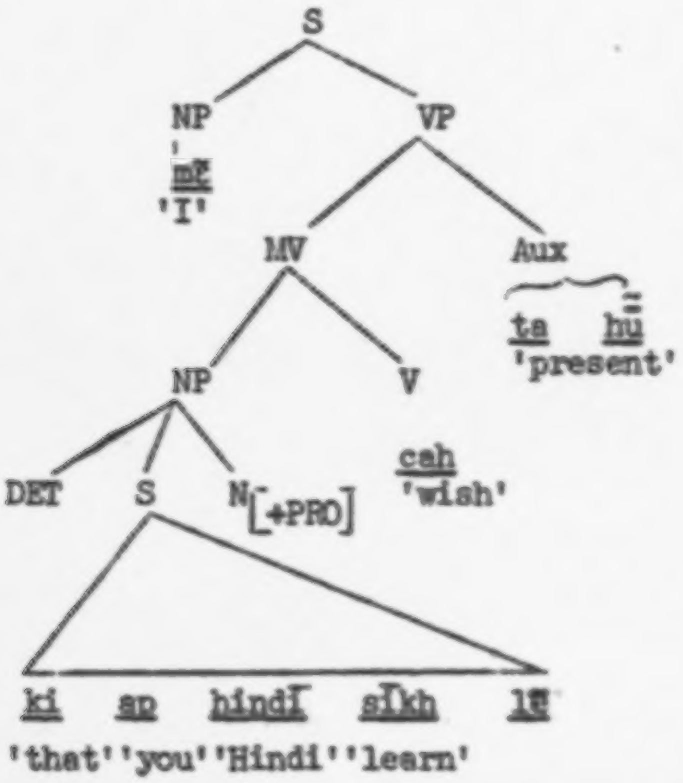
8. ram ne yəh bat sunī ki ap j̣a rəhe hɛ̃
'Ram' 'this''statement''heard''that''you' 'go'-'ing''are'
'Ram heard that you were going.'

9. ram ne yəh suna ki ap j̣a rəhe hɛ̃
'Ram' 'this''heard'that''you''go'-'ing''are'

10. ram ne suna ki ap ja rahe hẽ
'Ram' 'heard''that''you''go'-'ing' 'are'

Sentences 8 and 9 are paraphrases of 7, and 'mean' the 'same'. 8 is derived by deleting bat, and 9 is derived by deleting both yah and bat. There are numerous other examples which support this analysis. Of course, there might be arguments about whether the actual word bat occurs in sentences such as sentence 5 or not. All the grammar can claim is that some such item - an abstract N which has the semantic markers of an item like bat - must be present in the underlying structure. It is worth remembering that we postulated a $N_{[+PRO]}$ (i.e., koī) as the Subject of the embedded S in sentence 2 also. The usefulness of the notion of Nouns marked [+PRO] becomes apparent in section 4.0.

Again, in sentence 5, the NP contains a sentence in its internal structure:



These diagrams interpret the sentences in the following manner: in sentence

6, the Verb *səməjhna* 'to consider' takes a S-complement *ram bəhut məhnətī hɛ* 'Ram is very industrious'; in sentence 6, the subordinate clause *ki ap hindī sikh lẽ* 'that you learn Hindi' functions as the Object of the Verb *cahna* 'to wish'.

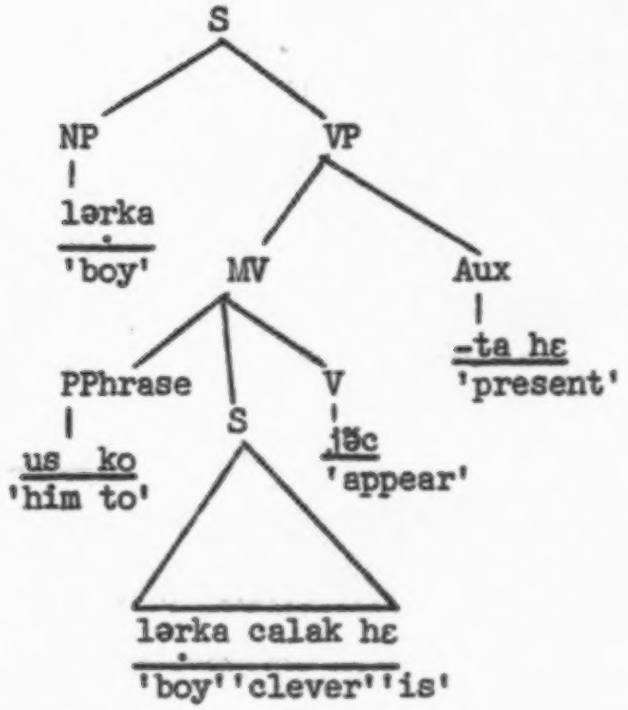
The questions may be asked: why should we complicate the structure of VP by analyzing the sentences 5 and 6 in the above manner? Why should we formulate that the verbal complement in 5 or the object in 6 is a S? The answer is as follows. Compare the following sentences:

11. *ləṛka usko calak jãcta hɛ*
'boy' 'to him' 'clever' 'appears'
'The boy appears clever to him.'

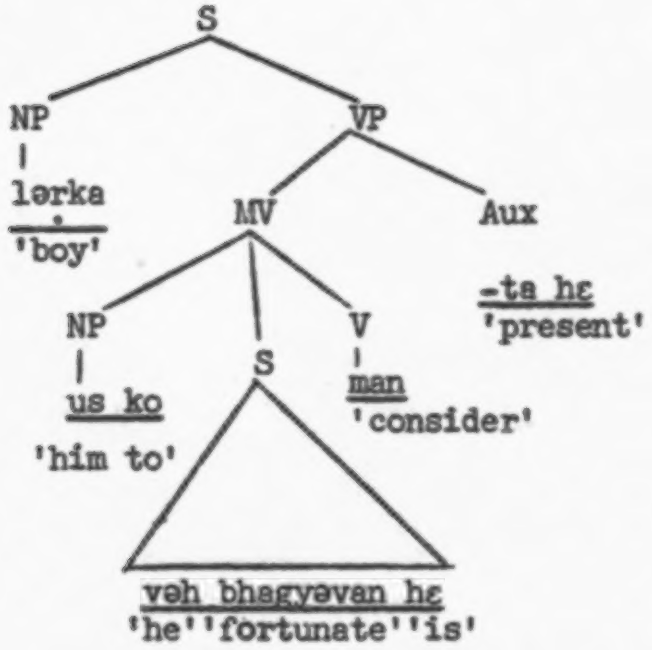
12. *ləṛka usko bhagyəvan manta hɛ*
'boy' 'to him' 'fortunate''considers'
'The boy considers him fortunate.'

The Adjectives *calak* and *bhagyəvan* in sentences 11 and 12 are Complements to Verbs *jãcna* and *manna* respectively. Hindi grammars have consistently analyzed sentences 11 and 12 as such. The question now arises: if that is all there is to be said about these sentences, how do we know that *calak* in 11 refers to *ləṛka* whereas *bhagyəvan* in 12 refers to *vəh*. To answer this question, it is necessary to recognize that sentences 11 and 12 have the following *underlying* structures:

11.


S
NP
VP
lərka
'boy'
MV
Aux
-ta hɛ
'present'
PPhrase
S
V
us ko
'him to'
jãc
'appear'
lərka calak hɛ
'boy''clever''is'

12.


S
NP
VP
lərka
'boy'
MV
Aux
-ta hɛ
'present'
NP
S
V
us ko
'him to'
man
'consider'
vəh bhagyəvan hɛ
'he''fortunate''is'

It is the embedded S (e.g., lərka calak hɛ or vəh bhagyəvan hɛ) that makes the relationship of the Adjectives to the N's in sentences 11 and 12 explicit.

Why it is necessary to analyze NP into a Determiner (abb. DET), a Sentence and a Noun, or why the VP has to be analyzed first as comprising a Main Verb (abb. MV) and an Auxiliary (abb. Aux), and then the MV as comprising NP, S and V has been explained in greater detail in the relevant sections (see sections 3.0 on the VP and 4.0 on the NP).

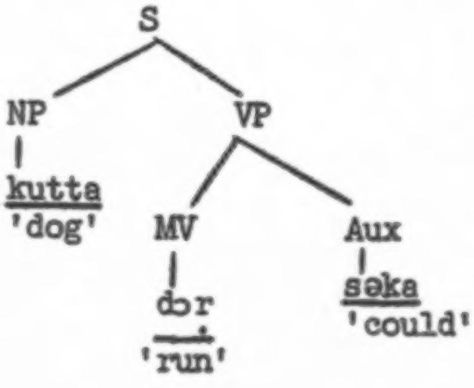
2.3. The above discussion explains what we mean by terms such as Subject and Predicate. It also demonstrates how simple sentences are made up of NP and VP, how complex sentences are made up of simple sentences, and how the sentences that are embedded into other (Matrix) sentences are related to particular constituents (i.e., NP or VP) of these (Matrix) sentences. It is this process of combining simple sentences to construct more complex structures that is responsible for the 'creative' aspect of linguistic activity. The following sections discuss in greater detail the components of the simple sentences and various ways of combining simple sentences to generate more complex structures.

THE VERB PHRASE

3.0. THE VERB PHRASE

In this section, we shall first discuss the components of VP, then the forms of V, and finally the components of the Aux element. [1]

3.1. In a sentence, the MV is followed by Modals optionally, and Aspect and Tense markers obligatorily. Therefore we can say that the VP is made up of a MV and an Aux as shown in the following diagram:



kutta dɔṛ səka

'The dog could run.'

3.2. The next step, determining what elements make up the MV, leads to a problem. The Verb *hona* 'to be' has to be treated differently from other V's. First, it has more forms than other V's. All Hindi V's have the following five distinct forms (if we disregard the inflections for number, gender and person, and list only the third person singular forms for the Participles and the Optative):

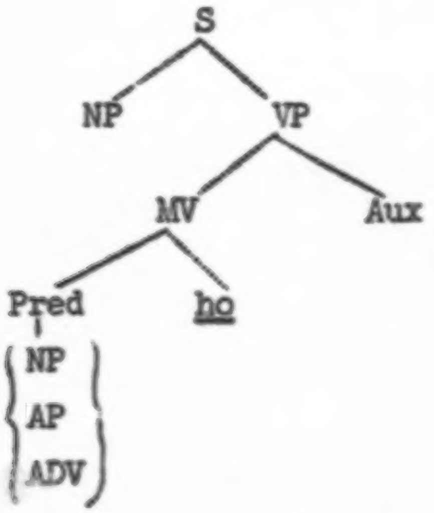
Infinitive	Base	Imperfect Participle	Perfect Participle	Optative
cəlna 'to walk'	*cəl*	*cəlta*	*cəla*	*cəle*
sona 'to sleep'	*so*	*sota*	*soya*	*soe*

But *hona* has the following seven distinct forms:

Infinitive	Base	Imp. Participle	Perf.Participle	Optative	Present	Past
hona ' to be'	ho	hota	hua	ho(e)	hɛ	tha

There are sound historical reasons for this, which we need not go into here.[2]

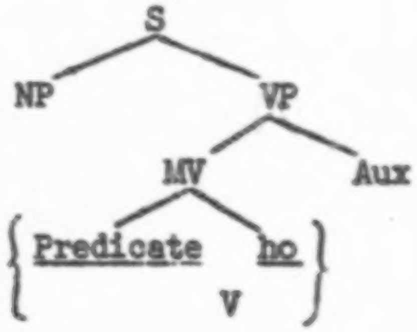
Secondly, the verb hona must be preceded by a Predicate Complement, which could either be a NP, or an Adjective Phrase (AP), or an Adverbial Phrase (abb. ADV); therefore the MV could be developed as follows:



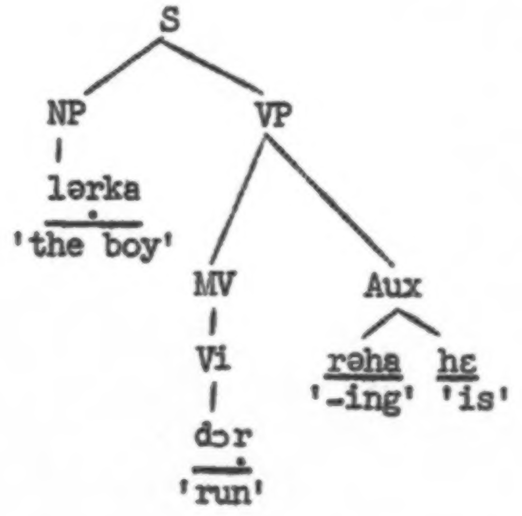
The following sentences are examples of the above representations:

lərka chatr hɛ	'The boy is a student.'
lərka əccha hɛ	'The boy is good.'
lərka ghər mẽ hɛ	'The boy is at home.'

There is another choice too, as far as developing the MV is concerned. We could choose other Verbs instead of hona, in which case the above diagram must be modified to:



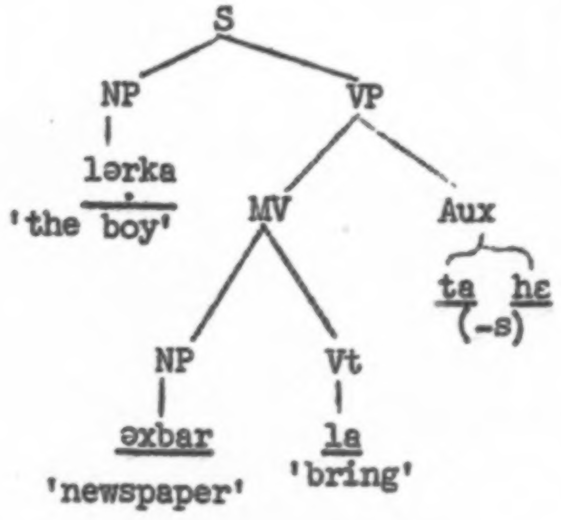
3.2.1. At this point, it is necessary to decide what kind of a Verb is to be selected. There are several possibilities: one could choose an Intransitive Verb, a Transitive Verb which takes an Object, or a Double Object Verb which takes two Objects. [3] The following diagrams illustrate these choices:


S
NP
VP
ləṛka
'the boy'
MV
Aux
Vi
rəha
'-ing'
hɛ
'is'
dɔṛ
'run'

[Vi = Verb, intransitive]

ləṛka dɔṛ rəha hɛ

'The boy is running.'

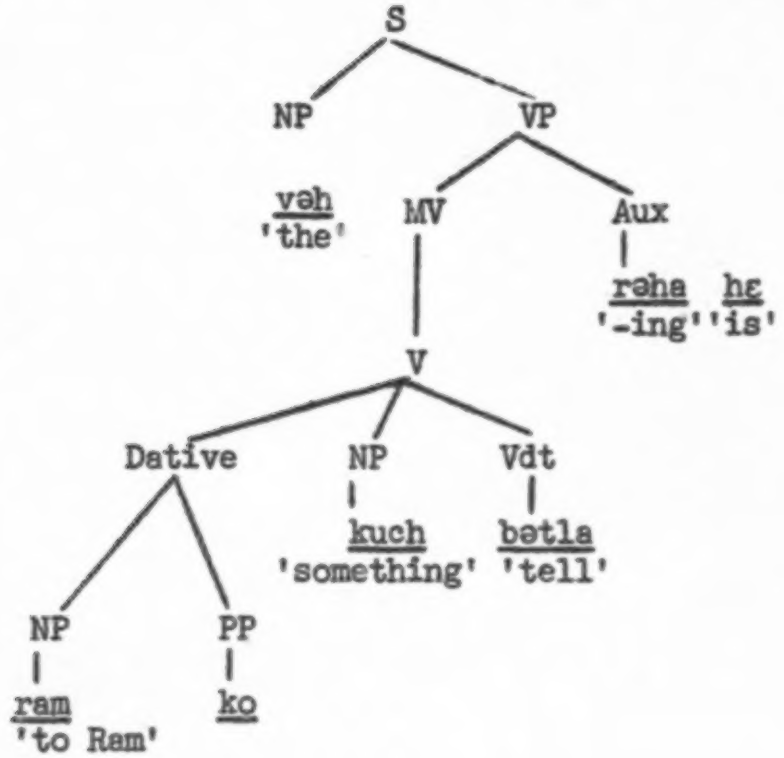

S
NP
VP
ləṛka
'the boy'
MV
Aux
ta
hɛ
(-s)
NP
Vt
əxbar
'newspaper'
la
'bring'

[Vt = Verb, transitive]

ləṛka əxbar lata hɛ

'The boy brings the newspaper.'

Notice that now we can say, the 'NP of V' is the Direct Object, e.g., əxbar in the above diagram, or kuch in the diagram below


S
NP
VP
vəh
'the'
MV
Aux
rəha
hɛ
'-ing'
'is'
V
Dative
NP
Vdt
kuch
'something'
bətla
'tell'
NP
PP
ram
'to Ram'
ko

[Vdt = Verb, double transitive]

vəh ram ko kuch bətla rəha hɛ

'He is telling Ram something.'

3.3. Before discussing the other choices that one could make in developing MV, it would be useful to look at some agreement rules that operate on Hindi sentences.

The following examples illustrate what we mean by 'agreement'. These are some of the possibilities:

a) The Verb may agree with the Subject N in number, gender and person;

b) The Verb may agree with the Object N in number and gender;

c) The Adjective (abb. Adj) always agrees with the following N;

d) The Adverb (abb. Adv) may agree with the Subject or Object N.

Noun and Verb Agreement

Masculine sg. Subject N	kutta dɔṛa	'The dog ran'
Feminine sg. Subject N	billī dɔṛī	'The cat ran'
Masculine pl. Subject N	kutte dɔṛe	'The dogs ran'
Feminine pl. Subject N	billiyā̃ dɔṛī̃	'The cats ran'
Masculine 1st person sg.	mɛ̃ dɔṛta hū̃	'I run'
Masculine 2nd person pl.	tum dɔṛte ho	'You run'
Masculine 3rd person sg.	vəh dɔṛta hɛ	'He runs'

Adjective and Noun Agreement

Masc. sg.	choṭa ləṛka	'small boy'
Masc. pl.	choṭe ləṛke	'small boys'
Feminine sg.	choṭī ləṛkī	'small girl'
Feminine pl.	choṭī ləṛkiyā̃	'small girls'

Adverb and Noun Agreement

ləṛkī dɔṛtī huī aī	'The girl came running'
mɛ̃ ne kitab mez pər pəṛī dekhī	'I saw the book lying on the table.'

The rules that specify under what conditions the V or Adj or Adv agrees with which N are called agreement rules. In this section we shall discuss only the N and V agreement.

Most grammars and textbooks of Hindi say that in all Intransitive sentences, the Verb agrees with the Subject in number, gender and person. For example:

Masculine sg.	ləṛka jata hɛ	'The boy goes.'

Feminine sg.	ləṛkī jatī hɛ	'The girl goes.'
Masculine pl.	ləṛke jate hɛ̃	'The boys go.'
Feminine pl.	ləṛkiyā̃ jatī hɛ̃	'The girls go'
Masculine 1st person sg.	mɛ̃ jata hū̃	'I go'
Masculine 2nd person pl.	tum jate ho	'You (pl.) go.' etc.

The Transitive sentences, however, are said to be different. There, one has to distinguish between three constructions: (1) Subjectival, (2) Objectival, and (3) Impersonal.

An instance of Subjectival construction is:

ləṛka kitab pəṛhta hɛ

(The)'boy''book''reads'

ləṛkī kitab pəṛhtī hɛ

(The)'girl''book' 'reads'

In the above examples, as the Vt is in the Imperfective aspect, the V agrees with the Subject in number, gender and person.

An example of the Objectival construction is:

ləṛke ne kitab pəṛhī

(The)'boy' 'book' 'read'

ləṛkī ne kitab pəṛhī

mɛ̃ ne kitab pəṛhī

'I' 'book' 'read'

$$\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{ləṛke}\\ \text{ləṛkī}\\ \text{mɛ̃}\end{array}\right\}\quad \text{ne əxbar pəṛha}$$

$$\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{(The)'boy'}\\ \text{(The)'girl'}\\ \text{'I'}\end{array}\right\}\quad \text{'newspaper''read'}$$

In these sentences, as the Vt is in the Perfective aspect, and the Subject N is in the oblique case, followed by the postposition ne, the V does not agree with the Subject N; instead, it agrees with the Object in number and gender, e.g., the V pəṛh agrees with kitab 'book' (feminine singular), and əxbar 'newspaper' (masc. sg.).

The following are examples of the Impersonal construction:

ləṛke ne kitab ko pəṛha

(The)'boy'(the)'book' 'read'

ləṛkī ne kitab ko pəṛha

(The)'girl'(the)'book' 'read'

mɛ̃ ne kitab ko pəṛha

'I' (the) 'book' 'read'

$$\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{ləṛke}\\ \text{ləṛkī}\\ \text{mɛ̃}\end{array}\right\}\quad \text{ne əxbar ko pəṛha}$$

$$\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{(The)'boy'}\\ \text{(The)'girl'}\\ \text{'I'}\end{array}\right\}\quad \text{(the) 'newspaper''read'}$$

Notice that the V is in the Perfective aspect, but, as the Subject N is in the oblique case and is followed by ne, and the Object N is also in the oblique case and is followed by the Post-position ko, the V does not agree either with the Subject, or with the Object in number, gender and person.

Most grammars of Hindi then give a list of exceptions to these rules. There are some Vi's which do not agree with the Subject, but participate in the Objectival construction. For example:

{ ləṛke / ləṛkī } ne nəhaya

{ (The)'boy' / (The)'girl' } 'bathed'

khãsna 'cough' and chĩkna 'sneeze' belong to this class of Vi's.

Also there are some Vt's which do not participate in the Objectival or Impersonal constructions, e.g.,

ləṛka kitab laya

(The)'boy''book''brought'

ləṛkī kitab laī

(The)'girl''book''brought'

mɛ̃ kitab { laya / laī } hū̃

'I'(masc/fem)'book''brought''have'

bolna 'speak', bəkna 'babble', səməjhna 'understand'; jənna 'give birth to' and bhūlna 'forget' belong to this class of Vt's.

Actually, the facts are more complicated than this type of description suggests. First, let us see if we can give simple rules to cover *all* cases, rather than give rules *and* lists of exceptions. The facts are as follows: there are two types of Transitive and Intransitive Verbs: (1) a large number of Transitive and some Intrnasitive Verbs that participate in the Objectival or *ne* construction; and (2) a large number of Intransitive, and some Transitive, Verbs which do not. In addition to these, there are a few Intransitive and Transitive Verbs which may or may not participate in the Objectival construction. For example:

mɛ̃ səmjha ki ap cəle gəye

or

mɛ̃ ne səmjha ki ap cəle gəye

'I thought you had left.'

pana 'find', *nəhana* 'bathe', and *jənna* 'give birth to' belong to this class.

To summarize, we can say that each V in Hindi selects a feature: either [+*ne*] or [-*ne*]; those with [+*ne*] features participate in the *ne* construction, those with [-*ne*] do not, and those with [± *ne*] either do or do not. It happens to be the case that most [+*ne*] V's are Transitive, and most [- *ne*] ones are Intransitive, but the features of Transitivity and *ne* do not always coincide. 4

Now, the agreement rules can be stated as follows:

(1) In all Non-Perfective sentences and those Perfective sentences which contain a [- *ne*] V, the V agrees with the Subject N in number, gender and person

(2) In Perfective sentences which contain a [+ ne] V there are the following possibilities:

a) the V agrees with the Direct Object N in number and gender

b) the V does not agree either with the Subject or with the Direct Object N in number, gender and person if the Direct Object N is in the oblique case and followed by ko. Instead, the V is always in the unmarked form which is traditionally referred to as the masculine singular form.

It is useful to remember that all the Double Transitive Verbs in Hindi are [+ ne] V's. For example:

ram ne šyam ko kitab lɔṭa dī

'Ram''to Shyam' 'book' 'returned'

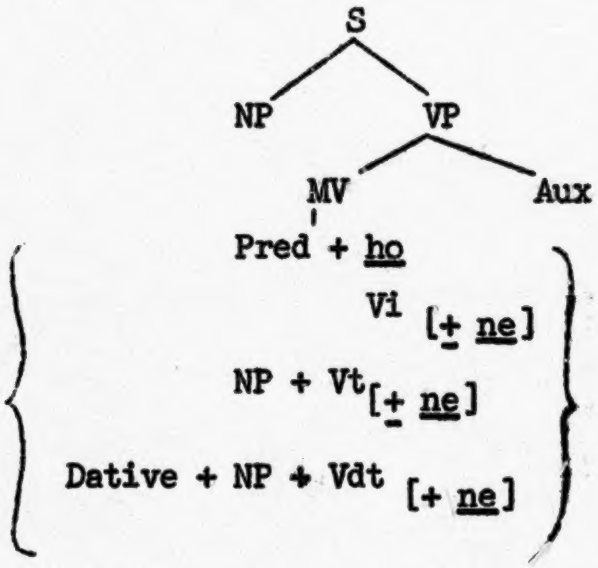
'Ram returned the book to Shyam.'

rəsoiye ne mujhko tərkarī nəhī̃ pərosī

'cook' 'to me' 'vegetables''not''served'

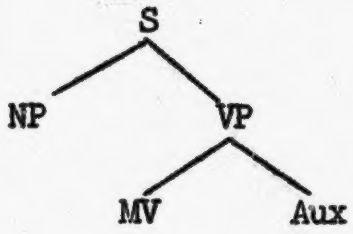
'The cook did not serve vegetables to me.'

3.4. Let us now specify all the possible choices that have been discussed so far for developing the MV. The diagram of S can now be expanded as follows:



To recapitulate, we have discussed the following types of simple sentences so far:

I. The Copula Sentence



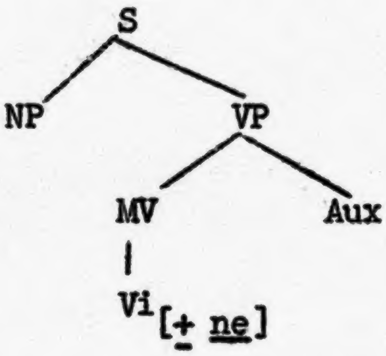
Pred ho
a NP
b AP
c ADV

a. vəh ḍaktər hɛ
'He''doctor''is'
'He is a doctor.'

b. ləṛka Šərarətī hɛ
'The boy''mischievous''is'
'The boy is mischievous.'

c. billī chət pər hɛ
'The cat''roof''on''is'
'The cat is on the roof.'

II. Intransitive Sentence



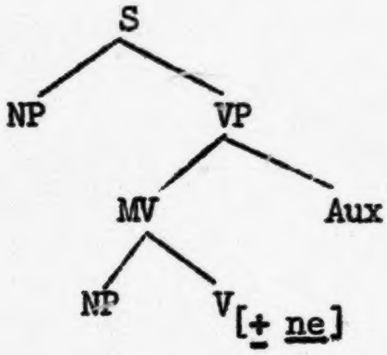
ram hə̃sa

'Ram laughed'

ram ne khā̃sa

'Ram coughed'

III. Transitive Sentence


S
NP
VP
MV
Aux
NP
V[± ne]

chatrõ ne səbək sīkha

'The students''lesson''learned'

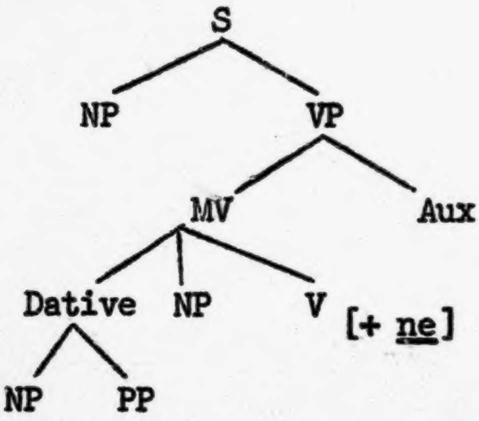
'The students learned the lesson.'

chatr bhaṣəṇ səmjhe

'The students''lecture''understood'

'The students understood the lecture.'

IV. Double Transitive Sentence


S
NP
VP
MV
Aux
Dative
NP
V [+ ne]
NP
PP

ram ne šyam ko pəṭr likha

'Ram''to Shyam''a letter''wrote'

'Ram wrote a letter to Shyam.'

sīta ne radha ko cavəl pərose
'Sita''to Radha''rice''served'

'Sita served rice to Radha.'

The above diagrams do not specify how the Postpositions *ne* and *ko* are related to the Subject and Direct Object N's in sentences such as:

sīta ne nəhaya

'Sita' 'bathed'

'Sita bathed.'

ram ne šyam ko pukara

'Ram''Shyam''called'

'Ram called Shyam.'

ram ne bəcce ko khilɔna diya

'Ram''child''to''toy''gave'

'Ram gave a toy to the child.'

Actually, the assignment of the Postposition *ne* to the sentence is automatic, if the V is marked [+ *ne*] and is in the Perfective aspect. The assignment of *ko* to the Direct Object is automatic, too. If the Direct Object N is marked [+ Animate] and/or preceded by a Definite DET, it is followed by the Postposition *ko* (cf. 4.5. for a discussion of features of N and 4.4 for a discussion of the DET in Hindi).

3.5. In addition to the simple Verb forms, the grammars and textbooks of Hindi refer to *Compound* and *Conjunct* V's. These are complex elements which function as V's.[5] The following are instances of sentences containing these V's:

Compound V

ram səb seb kha gəya

'Ram''all''apples''ate''up'

'Ram ate all the apples.'

usne pətr pəṛh liya

'He' 'letter''read' (to himself)

'He read the letter.'

usne pətr likh diya

'He' 'letter' 'wrote' (for someone)
'He wrote the letter'.

vəh təṛke nəhaya kərta hɛ

'He''early'is in the habit of taking bath'
'He is in the habit of taking a bath early'.

ləṛkī rone ləgī

'The girl''began to cry'

ləṛke khelte rəhte hɛ̃

'The boys keep playing.'

vəh bəcce ko mare ḍal rəha hɛ

'He is almost killing the child.'

Conjunct V

usne kam səmapt kiya

'He finished the work.'

mɛ̃ kitab mol le rəha hū̃

'I am buying a book.'

mujhe ek susəmacar prapt hua

'I received good news.'

Note that by Compound V is meant a sequence of V's, e.g., kha jana, ro dena, etc., whereas by *Conjunct V* is meant a sequence of a Nominal element + V e.g., *səmapt kərna*, *prapt hona* etc.

We shall discuss the Compound V's first, and the Conjunct V's later in this sub-section.

3.5.1. Notice that the first element of the Compound Verb could have the following forms:

V	e.g., *kha* (*jana*)
V + *ya*	e.g., *nəhaya* (*kərna*)
V + *ne*	e.g., *rone* (*ləgna*)
V + *ta*	e.g., *khelta* (*rəhna*)
V + *e*	e.g., *mare* (*ḍalna*)

We shall call the second element of the Compound V *Operator* (abb. Opr). The items in parentheses above are instances of Oprs.

There are important restrictions as to which Operators could follow which V's and which Operators could follow what form of the V, e.g., *lena* and *dena* follow only V and V + *e*, *ləgna* follows only V + *ne*, and so on. A list of Operators together with their [± *ne*] features and the forms of V that they can follow, is given below. A list of V's that can precede particular Operators is given in the following pages. The list of Operators is more complete than the list of Verbs as, obviously, it is not our purpose to give a dictionary of V's here. Only the most common V's are listed.

Operators	*Forms of V*
ana [-*ne*]	V
jana [-*ne*]	V, V + *ya*, V + *ta*

Operators	Forms of V
dena [+*ne*]	V, V + *e*
lena [+ *ne*]	V, V + *e*
ḍalna [+ *ne*]	V, V + *e*
pəṛna [- *ne*]	V
uṭhna [- *ne*]	V
bɛṭhna [- *ne*]	V
nikəlna [- *ne*]	V
rəhna [- *ne*]	V, V + *ta*
cəlna [- *ne*]	V
pəhũcna [- *ne*]	V
dhəməkna [- *ne*]	V
kərna	V + *ya*
ləgna	V + *ne*
nikəlna [+ *ne*]	V
marna [+ *ne*]	V

Most operators may follow either a Transitive or an Intransitive V, but there are some restrictions:

(i) *ḍalna* may not follow any [-*ne*] V

(ii) *pəṛna* may not follow any [+ *ne*] V

(iii) *nikəlna*, *cəlna*, *rəhna*, *pəhũcna* follow only [- *ne*] V's.

List of V's and Operators

The following is a selected list of Verbs that occur as first members of a Compound Verb. The items in parentheses are the Oprs. which may follow these V's:

əṛna	'to stall'	(*ja*)
əṛana		(*de*)
ana	'to come'	(*ja*, *nikəl*, *pəhũc*, *dhəmək*)
uchəlna	'to jump'	(*pəṛ*)
uṭhna	'to rise'	(*a*, *ja*, *bɛṭh*, *le*)
uṛna	'to fly'	(*a*, *ja*, *cəl*)
utərna	'to climb down'	(*a*, *ja*)
utarna	'to take down'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*)
uməṛna	'to overflow'	(*a*)
oṛhna	'to cover oneself'	(*le*)
oṛhana	'to cover'	(*de*, *ḍal*)
kəṭna	'to be cut'	(*ja*)
kaṭna	'to cut'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*)
kəmana	'to earn'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*)
kərna	'to do'	(*bɛṭh*, *le*,*de*, *ḍal*)
kəhna	'to say'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*)
kūdna	'to jump'	(*a*, *ja*, *le*)
khana	'to eat'	(*ja*,*le*, *ḍal*)
khilana	'to feed'	(*de*, *ḍal*)
khelna	'to play'	(*le*)
khīcna	'to be pulled'	(*a*, *ja*)
khī̃cna	'to pull'	(*le*)
khulna	'to be opened'	(*a*, *ja*, *pəṛ*)
kholna	'to open'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*, *bɛṭh*)
khojna	'to search'	(*le*, *de*)
ginna	'to count'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*)

girna	'to fall'	(*ja*, *pəṛ*)
girana	'to fell, drop'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*, *bɛṭh*)
ghusna	'to enter'	(*ja*, *pəṛ*)
ghusana	'to push'	(*le*, *de*,*ḍal*, *bɛṭh*)
cəṛhna	'to climb'	(*a*, *ja*, *bɛṭh*, *nikəl*)
cəlna	'to walk'	(*pəṛ*, *de*, *ya* + *a*, *ja*)
cūna	'to leak'	(*pəṛ*)
cɔ̃kna	'to be startled'	(*uṭh*, *pəṛ*)
chəpna	'to be printed'	(*ja*)
chapna	'to print'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*, *bɛṭh*)
cheṛna	'to instigate'	(*de*)
chipna	'to hide'	(*ja*, *le*)
chūṭna	'to be left, leave'	(*ja*)
choṛna	'to leave'	(*a*, *ja*, *de*, *ḍal*)
jəgna	'to wake up'	(*ja*)
jəgana	'to wake someone up'	(*de*)
jəlna	'to burn'	(*ja*)
jəlana	'to burn something'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*, *bɛṭh*)
jana	'to go'	(*pəhũc*, *dhəmək*)
janna	'to know'	(*ja*,*le*)
jīna	'to be alive'	(*ja*, *uṭh*)
jhukna	'to bend'	(*a*, *ja*, *ya* + *pəṛ*)
jhūlna	'to dangle'	(*ja*, *pəṛ*)
ṭəhəlna	'to wander'	(*le*)
ṭūṭna	'to break'	(*ja*)
ṭhəhərna	'to stop, stay'	(*ja*)

ṭhəhrana	'to put up (a guest)'	(*le*, *de*)
ḍərna	'to fear'	(*ja*)
ḍãṭna	'to scold'	(*de*)
ḍalna	'to put, add to'	(*le*,*de*)
ḍūbna	'to drown'	(*ja*)
ḍhū̃ṛhna	'to search'	(*le*, *de*, *nikal*)
ḍhona	'to carry'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*)
thəkna	'to tire'	(*ja*)
dekhna	'to see'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*)
dena	'to give'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*, *bɛṭh*)
dɔṛna	'to run'	(*ja*, *le*)
dhulna	'to be washed'	(*ja*)
dhona	'to wash'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*, *bɛṭh*)
nikəlna	'to come out'	(*a*, *ja*, *pəṛ*)
pəṛna	'to lie down'	(*ja*, *rəh*)
pūchna	'to ask'	(*le*, *bɛṭh*)
phəṭna	'to be torn'	(*ja*)
phaṛna	'to tear'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*, *bɛṭh*)
phɛlna	'to be spread'	(*ja*)
bãṭna	'to distribute'	(*le*, *de*, *ḍal*)
bəkna	'to babble'	(*ja*, *de*)
bəjna	'to strike'	(*ja*)
bəjana	'to play (music)'	(*le*, *de*)
bənna	'to be made'	(*ja*, *bɛṭh*)
bənana	'to make'	(*le*. *de*, *ḍal*)

bəhna	'to flow'	(ja, cəl, nikəl)
bəhana	'to float'	(de)
bītna	'to be spent'	(ja)
bitana	'to spend (time)	(le, de, ḍal)
bɛṭhna	'to sit'	(ja)
bulana	'to call'	(le)
bolna	'to tell'	(uṭh, bɛṭh, le)
bhagna	'to run'	(a, ja, cəl, nikəl)
bhū̃kna	'to bark'	(uṭh, de)
mərna	'to die'	(ja)
marna	'to hit'	(le, de, ḍal)
milna	'to accrue, meet'	(ja, le)
rəkhna	'to keep'	(le, de ḍal)
rəhna	'to stay'	(ja, le)
rona	'to weep'	(uṭh, pəṛ, de)
ləgna	'to be felt'	(ja)
ləṛna	'to quarrel'	(ja, pəṛ, bɛṭh)
likna	'to write'	(le, de, ḍal, mar)
lana	'to bring'	(de)
lena	'to take'	(ja, le)
səməjhna	'to understand'	(ja,le, bɛṭh)
sīna	'to sew'	(le, de, ḍal)
sīkhna	'to learn'	(ja, le)
socna	'to think'	(le)
sona	'to sleep'	(ja, rəh)
hə̃sna	'to laugh'	(pəṛ, de, uṭh, le)

harna	'to lose (battle)	(*ja*)
hona	'to become'	(*ja*, *le*)

3.5.1.1. Notice that as far as the agreement rules (cf. 3.3.) are concerned, the operators also have to be marked for the [± ne] features. The following combinations, then, get the following features:

V [+ *ne*] Opr [+ *ne*] = Compound Verb [+ *ne*]

V [+ *ne*] Opr [- *ne*] = " " [- *ne*]

V [- *ne*] Opr [+ *ne*] = " " [- *ne*]

V [- *ne*] Opr [- *ne*] = " " [- *ne*]

V [± *ne*] Opr [+ *ne*] = " " [+ *ne*]

3.5.1.2. There are the following co-occurrence restrictions between the Operators and the elements of Aux (cf. section 3.8. on the Aux).

(i) V + *e* + *dena* -
(ii) V + *e* + *lena* -
(iii) V + *e* + *ḍalna* -
} may not be followed by Modals and/or Perfective aspect;

(iv) V + *pəṛna*, *uṭhna*, *bɛṭhna*, *nikəlna*, *cəlna*, *pəhũcna* - may not be followed by Modals, and/or Durative aspect;

(v) V + *ya* + *kəṛna* - may not be followed by Modals, and/or the Durative and Perfective aspects;

(vi) V + *ne* + *ləgna* - may not be followed by Modals, and/or the Durative aspect.

3.5.2. In Hindi grammars, several different types of phrases are usually given as illustrations of Conjunct V's. For example, all the following are said to be Conjunct V's:

ram ne guru ko prəṇam kiya

'Ram did obeisance to his teacher.'

mɛ̃ usko pəsənd kəṛta hū̃

'I like him'

əcche ləṛke bəṛõ ka adər kərte hɛ̃

'Good boys respect their elders.'

sipahī ne cor ka pīcha kiya

'The constable followed the thief.'

usne apkī bəhut prəšənsa kī

'He praised you a lot.'

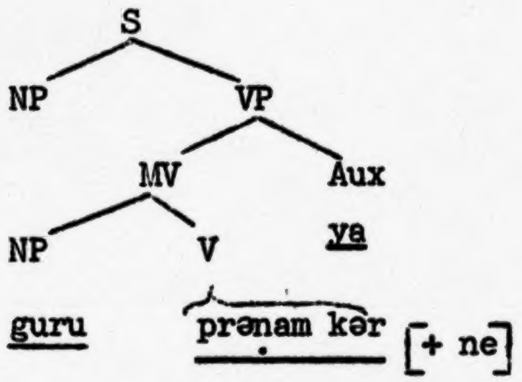
usne əpne nɔkər ko bəhut kleš diya

'He gave his servant a lot of trouble.'

mɛ̃ tumharī rah dekh rəha tha

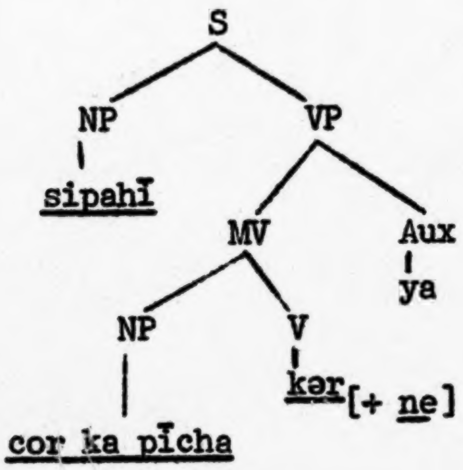
'I was waiting for you.'

Notice that the first two are different from the rest. This becomes clear if we analyze the sentences. The first sentence could be analyzed as follows, which means that guru ko is the Direct Object of the Conjunct V prəṇam kərna:



Notice that guru being an Animate and Definite N, is followed by the Post-position ko in the object position.

The fourth sentence has to be analyzed as:



which means that the phrase cor ka pīcha is the Direct Object of the V kərna.

The first, second and fifth sentences have similar structures and the others are like the fourth sentence.

In most cases, because the N + V makes one semantic unit in translation, i.e., is translatable by a one-word English V, it has been considered an instance of Conjunct V. For example, bənd kərna in the following sentence:

usne dərvaza bənd kiya

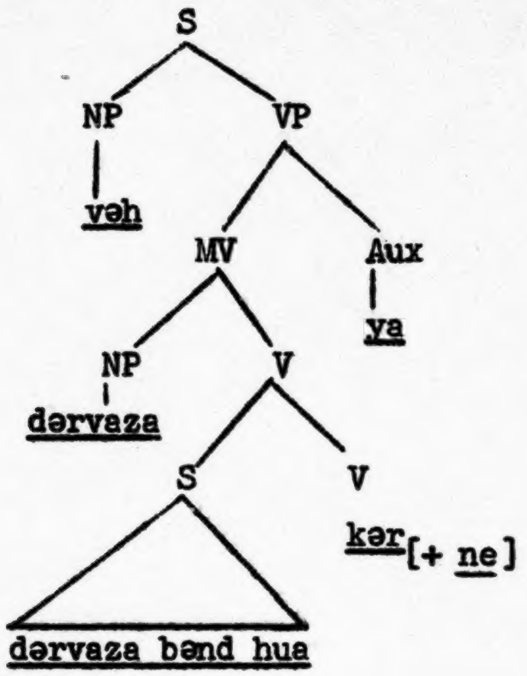
'He closed the door.'

Actually it is similar to:

usne bəndūk saf kiya

'He cleaned the gun.'

Both bənd and saf are Adj's, and the above sentences have the following structure:



That is, *bənd kərna* is an instance of Verbal Complementation, and not a Conjunct Verb. Such complements have been discussed in section 3.7. on pp.62 ff.

There are, however, a few Complex V's which are not analyzable as we have analyzed *bənd kərna*. Some of these Conjunct V's are listed below:

pəsənd hona	'to be liked' 'to please'	*pəsənd kərna*	'to like'
		ṭeliphon kərna	'to phone'
svīkar hona	'to be accepted'	*svīkar kərna*	'to accept'
əsvīkar hona	'to be refused'	*esvīkar kərna*	'to refuse'
ələg hona	'to be separate'	*ələg kərna*	'to separate'
malūm hona	'to be known'	*malūm kərna*	'to find out'
khəbər hona	'to be known'	*khəbər kərna*	'to inform'
juda hona	'to separate' (intransitive)	*juda kərna*	'to separate' (transitive)
{*bhərtī* *dakhil*} *hona*	'to enter'	{*bhərti* *dakhil*} *hona*	'to admit'

		spəṣṭ kərna	'to clarify'
		dan kərna	'to give alms'
		dhaṛəṇ kərna	'to hold, to accept'
		nəzər kərna	'to present'
niyukt hona	'to be employed'	*niyukt kərna*	'to employ'

3.6.1. All Hindi Verbs have the following forms:

Root	*kər*
Infinitive	*kərna*
Imperfect Participle	*kərta*
Perfect Participle	*kiya*
Optative	*kəre*
Future	*kərega*
Imperative	*kər*

All these forms, except the first and the last, are inflected for number, gender and person. The possibilities are:

kərna	*kərne* (masc.pl.)	*kərnī* (fem.)		
kərta	*kərte* (" ")	*kərtī* (fem.sg.)	*kərtī̃* (fem. pl.)	
kiya	*kiye* (" ")	*kī* (" ")	*kī̃* (fem. pl.)	

kərū̃ (1st.sg.)	*kərẽ* (1st and 3rd pl. 2nd honorific)	*kər* (2nd sg.)	*kəro* (2nd pl.)
kərū̃ga (" ")	*kərẽge* (" " " "	*kərega* (" ")	*kəroge* (" ")

The Imperative has several forms, viz:

kər (impolite) *kəro* (familiar) *kījiye*(honorific) *kijiyega* (polite honorific).

As the tense forms of Hindi Verbs are complex and involve Aux, all the tense forms are listed in the section on the Auxiliary element (cf. 3.7.).

3.7. Causative Sentences:[6]

The existing grammars of Hindi list forms of V's such as the following, where the verbs in the second and third columns are derived from the V's in the first column:

bənna	*bənana*	*bənvana*
'to be made'	'to make'	'to cause to be made'
sona	*sulana*	*sulvana*
'to sleep'	'to put to sleep'	'to cause to put to sleep'
kərna	*kərana*	*kərvana*
'to do'	'to cause to do'	'to cause to do'
khana	*khilana*	*khilvana*
'to eat'	'to feed'	'to cause to feed'
dena	*dilana*	*dilvana*
'to give'	'to cause to give'	'to cause to give'

The V's in the second and third columns are said to be first and second Causal forms respectively of the V's in the first column.

If we look at the sentences containing the Causal form of V's, it becomes clear that the relationship of Causal to Non-causal Verb forms is not one of morphological derivation only. The Causal and Non-causal sentences are related in a systematic way, e.g., the Subject of *bənna* is the Object of *bənana*, and the Subject of *bənana* is the Causative Agent of *bənvana* in the following sentences:

məkan bəna

'The house got built.'

məzdūrõ ne məkan bənaya

'The''laborers''built''the house'

ṭhekedar ne məzdūrõ se məkan bənvaya

'The contractor got the house built by the laborers'

In the above sentences, məkan is the Subject of bənna, the Object of bənana; məzdūr is the Subject of bənana and Causative Agent of bənvana .

The following sets of sentences exhibit the same systematic relationship:

munna soya

'The little boy slept.'

jījī ne munne ko sulaya

'The elder sister put the little boy to sleep.'

mā̃ ne jījī se munne ko sulvaya

'Mother caused the elder sister to put the little boy to sleep.'

nɔkər ne kam kiya

'The servant did the job.'

malik ne nɔkər se kam kəraya/kərvaya

'The master caused the servant to do the job.'

mɛ̃ ne əngūr khae

'I ate some grapes.'

tumne mujhe əngūr khilae

'You fed me some grapes.'

ram ne tumse mujhe əngur khilvaye

'Ram caused you to feed me some grapes.'

dukandar ne ramū ko kitab dī

'The shopkeeper gave Ramu a book.'

mɛ̃ ne dukandar se ramū ko kitab dilaī/dilvaī

'I caused the shopkeeper to give Ramu a book.'

Note that what has been said above about the syntactic relationships of Causal and Non-causal forms, applies to the Vi's (*bənna*, *sona*, etc.) The Vt's (*kərna*, *khana*) exhibit slightly different features. Notice that *kərna* has only one Causal form which may take two phonological shapes, *kərana*, and *kərvana*. The Subject of *kərna* is the Causative Agent of *kərvana*. *khana* has both the first and the second Causal forms: *khilana* and *khilvana*. As *khana* is a Vt, it already has a Direct Object, e.g., *əngūr* in the above set of sentences. Hence, the Subject of *khana* (*mɛ̃*) becomes the Indirect Object of *khilana* (*mujhe*), and the Subject of *khilana* (*tum*) becomes the Causative Agent of *khilvana* (*tum se*). Notice also that the first Causal form of the Vi's functions as a [+ *ne*] Vt, whereas the first Causal form of the *khana* type Vi's functions as a Double Object Verb. That is to say, *sulana*, which is the first Causal of *sona* takes an Object (*munne ko* in the above example) just as other Transitive Verbs do, e.g., *bulana* 'to call', *dekhna* 'to see' etc. Similarly, *khilana* which is the first Causal of *khana*, takes two Objects, (*mujhe* and *əngūr*) just as the Double Object Verbs such as *likhna*, *dena*, etc.,do. The Double Object Verbs such as *dena*, have only one Causal form, *dilana*/*dilvana*; the Subject of *dena* (*dukandar*) becomes the Causative Agent of *dilvana* in the above set of sentences.

The causativization of sentences also involves embedding. For example, the sentence:

ram ne mohən ko təsvīr dikhaī

'Ram showed a picture to Mohan.'

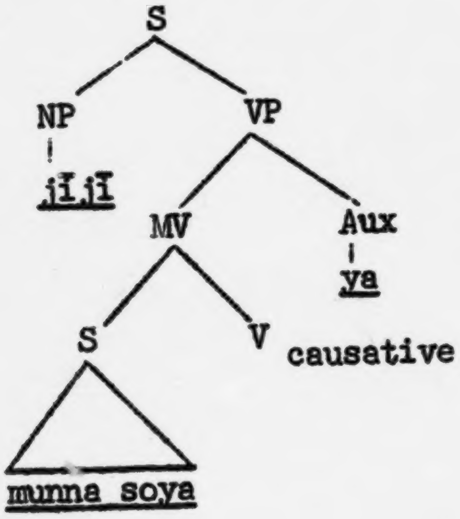
is actually made up of two sentences:

Matrix S: ram ne - S - V causative

Embedded S: mohən ne təsvīr dekhī

'Mohan saw the picture.'

The following diagrams of sets of sentences containing the V's sona, kərna, khana, and dena and a detailed discussion of the processes of embedding will make this point clear.



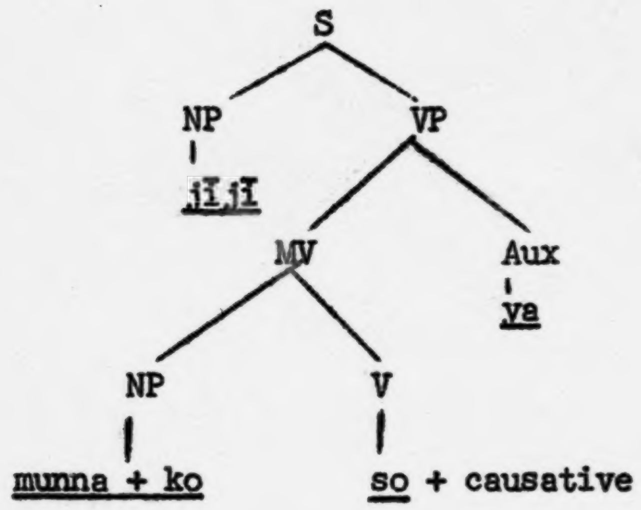
The sentence jījī ne munne ko sulaya has the above underlying structure. The following operations are performed on the embedded and matrix S's:

a) the Aux element of the embedded S is deleted.

b) the verb so of the embedded S is attached to the $V_{causative}$ of matrix S and is causativized by adding the first Causal morpheme -a to it (note that there are only a few V's which have a form ending in -l before the Causative morphemes, cf. pp. 71 - 81).

c) as the Subject of the embedded S is an Animate N (munna), the Object marker ko is added to it, and it is embedded in the Pre-Verb position, and attached to the MV of the matrix S.

The results of these operations can be illustrated by the following diagram:

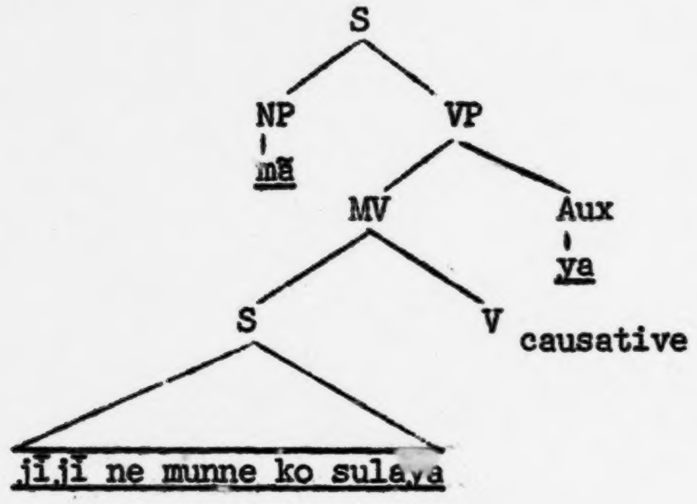

S
NP
VP
j̣īj̣ī
MV
Aux
ya
NP
V
munna + ko
so + causative

j̣īj̣ī ne munne ko sulaya

The next level of embedding is similar to the first one discussed above, i.e.

mã ne j̣īj̣i se munne ko sulvaya

has the underlying structure:


S
NP
VP
mã
MV
Aux
ya
S
V causative
j̣īj̣ī ne munne ko sulaya

Again, the following operations are carried out:

a) the Aux element of the embedded S is deleted;

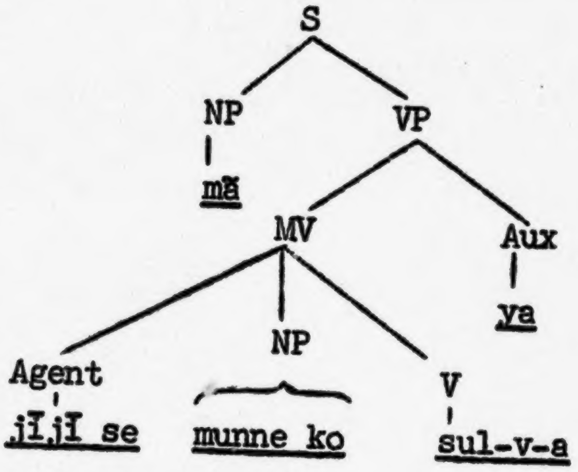
b) the V of embedded S (sula in this case) is embedded in the matrix S by attaching it to $V_{causative}$; subsequently it is causativized a second time by adding a v to it.

c) the Object of the embedded S is attached to the MV of the matrix S in the Pre-V position;

d) the Subject of the embedded S is attached to the MV of the matrix

S in the Pre-Object position, and a Causative Agent marker postposition se is attached to it.

These operations yield the following diagram:


S
NP
VP
mã
MV
Aux
ya
NP
Agent
V
jījī se
munne ko
sul-v-a

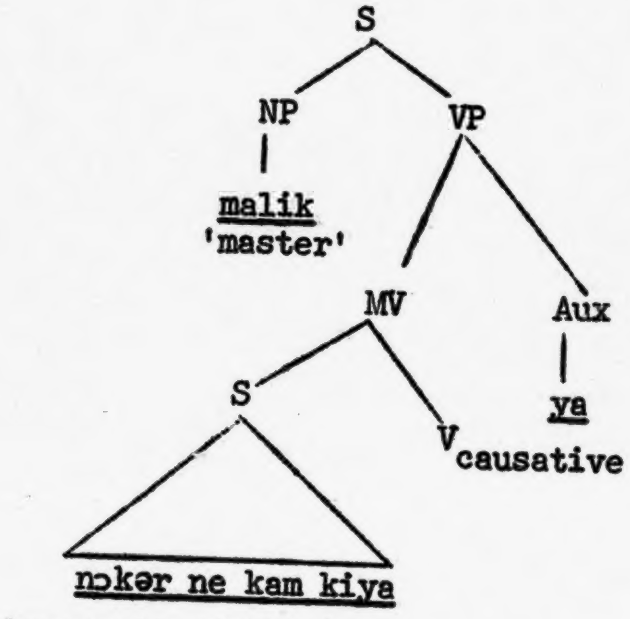
mã ne jījī se munne ko sulvaya

kərna - kərana/kərvana

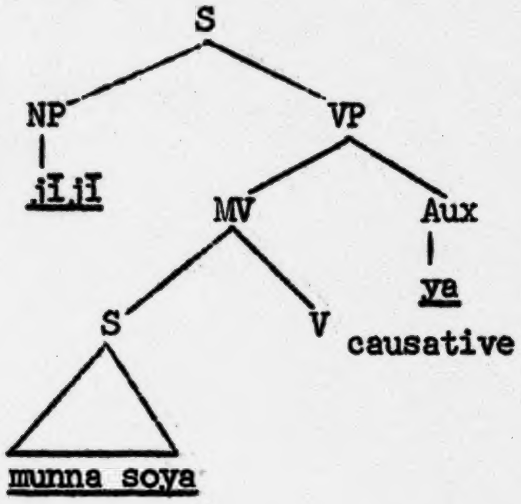
The same processes derive the sentence:

malik ne nɔkər se kam kər(v)aya

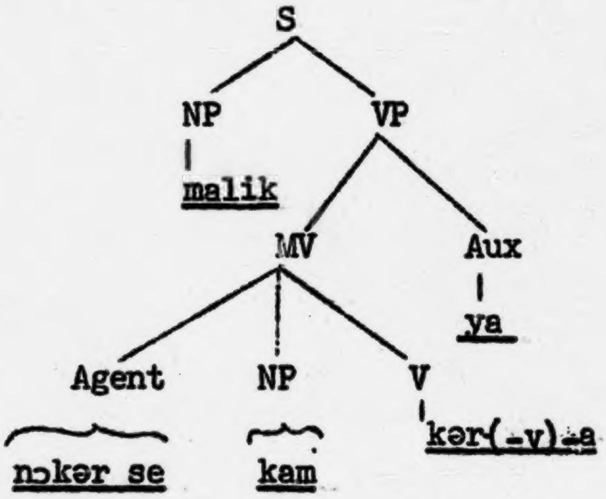
The underlying structure of the above sentence is as follows:


S
NP
VP
malik
'master'
MV
Aux
S
ya
$V_{causative}$
nɔkər ne kam kiya
'servant' 'job''did'

As the embedded S itself is Transitive, the sets of operations that apply to the underlying structure:


S
NP
VP
jiji
MV
Aux
ya
S
V
causative
munna soya

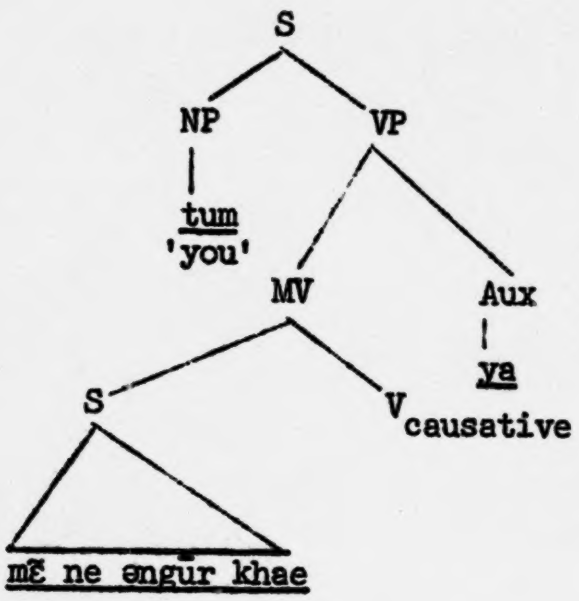
do not apply to this structure. Instead, the operations that derive the second level of embedding apply to the above, namely, *kər* is embedded and causativized, *kam* is embedded in the Pre-V position and thus remains the Direct Object of *kər(v)ana* and *nɔkər* is attached to the MV as the Causative Agent. This yields:


S
NP
VP
malik
MV
Aux
ya
Agent
NP
V
nɔkər se
kam
kər(-v)-a

malik ne nɔkər se kam kər(v)aya

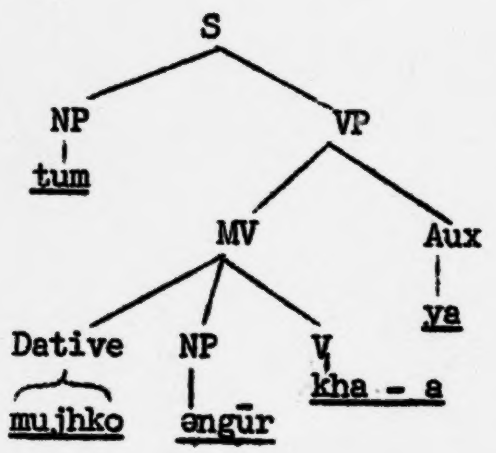
khana-khilana-khilvana

The *khana* class of V's, though Transitive, differs from *kərna* in that it undergoes two levels of causativization, i.e., the following operations are performed at the first level of embedding:


S
NP
VP
tum
'you'
MV
Aux
ya
S
V causative
mɛ̃ ne əngūr khae

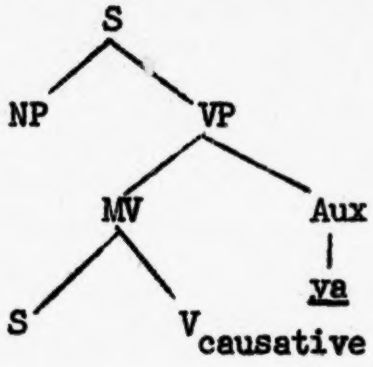
The Aux element of the embedded S is deleted; the V of the embedded S is attached to $V_{causative}$ of matrix S; the Object of the embedded S is attached to the MV of the matrix S in the Pre-V position; the Subject of the embedded S is attached to the MV of the matrix S in the Pre-Object position, and the Indirect Object marker ko is assigned to it.

These operations result in:

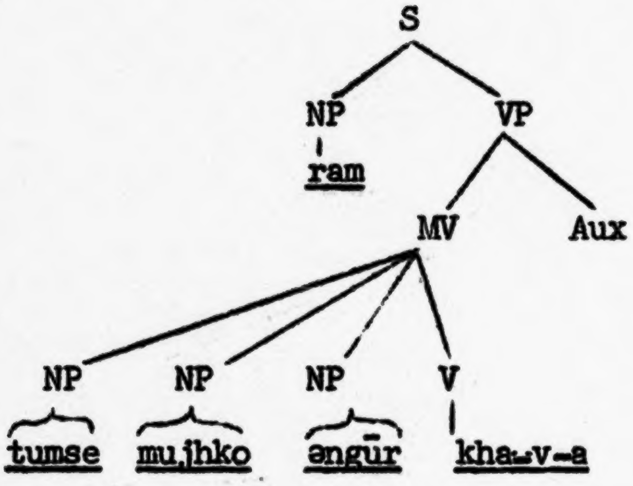

S
NP
VP
tum
MV
Aux
ya
Dative
NP
V
mujhko
əngūr
kha - a

tumne mujhko əngūr khilae

The next level of embedding repeats the first two steps, i.e., (1) the deletion of Aux of the embedded S, and (2) the embedding and causativization of the V of the embedded S by adding -v-. The Subject of the embedded S is, however, transformed to a Causative Agent, the rest of the elements remain as they were. Thus, the underlying structure:


S
NP
VP
MV
Aux
ya
S
V causative

is transformed to:


S
NP
ram
VP
MV
Aux
NP
tumse
NP
mujhko
NP
əngūr
V
kha-v-a

ram ne tumse mujhko əngūr khilvaye

The following information is relevant to the process of causativization:

(1) Not all Transitive and Intransitive Verbs have causal forms, i.e., the Intransitive and Transitive Verbs are divided into sub-classes on the basis of whether they can be causativized or not;

(2) Only those Transitive Verbs can be causativized which take Animate Subjects, e.g., although there is a sentence:

is laṭhī ne sãp ko mara

'This stick killed the snake.'

the corresponding sentence of apparent causative form, viz.:

mẽ ne is laṭhī se sãp ko mərvaya

* 'I caused the stick to kill the snake.'

is always interpreted as a paraphrase of:

mẽ ne kisi ke dvara is laṭhi se sãp ko mərvaya

'I caused someone to kill the snake with this stick.'

That is to say, a NP + *se* phrase involving an Inanimate N in a Causative S-like sentence is always interpreted as an Instrumental Adverbial, never as a Causative Agent.

(3) Transitive Verbs that can be causativized belong to two sub-classes, (i) the *kərna* class (those which undergo only one level of causativization) and (ii) the *khana* class (those which undergo two levels of causativization);

(4) The first level of causativization of V results in (a) single-object Vt's if the underlying Verbs were Intransitive (e.g., *sona*, *bənna*, etc.); (b) Double-Object Vt's if the underlying V's belonged to the *khana* class, and (c) Causative V's if the underlying Verbs belonged either to the *kərna* class, or to the class of (inherent) Double Object V's (e.g., *dena*, etc.)

(5) All Double-Object V's can be causativized.

A list of all the classes of V's mentioned above follows:

1. *bənna* type

Intransitive	Transitive	Causative
ukhəṛna	*ukhaṛna*	*ukhəṛvana*
'to be uprooted'	'to uproot'	'to cause to uproot'

Intransitive	Transitive	Causative
uṭhna	uṭhana	uṭhvana
'to rise'	'to raise'	'to cause to raise'
uṛna	uṛana	uṛvana
'to fly'	'to fly'	'to cause to fly'
utərna	utarna	utərvana
'to get down'	'to bring down'	'to cause to bring down'
ubəlna	ubalna	ubəlvana
'to boil'	'to boil'	'to cause to boil'
kəṭna	kaṭna	kəṭvana
'to be cut'	'to cut'	'to cause to cut'
kūdna	kudana	kudvana
'to jump'	'to jump'	'to cause to jump'
khīcna	khī̃cna	khīcvana
'to be pulled'	'to pull'	'to couse to pull'
khulna	kholna	khulvana
'to open' 'to be opened'	'to open'	'to cause to open'
khudna	khodna	khudvana
'to be dug'	'to dig'	'to cause to dig'
gəlna	gəlana	gəlvana
'to melt'	'to smelt'	'to cause to melt'
girna	girana	girvana
'to fall'	'to fell'	'to cause to fell'
ghəṭna	gəṭana	ghəṭvana
'to be subtracted	'to subtract'	'to cause to subtract'

Intransitive	Transitive	Causative
ghirna	gherna	ghirvana
'to be surrounded'	'to surround'	'to cause to surround'
ghisna	ghisna	ghisvana
'to be rubbed'	'to rub'	'to cause to rub'
ghulna	gholna	ghulvana
'to dissolve'	'to dissolve'	'to cause to dissolve'
ghūmna	ghumana	ghumvana
'to wander'	'to take (someone) out'	'to cause to take someone out'
cəṛhna	cəṛhana	cəṛhvana
'to climb'	'to make someone climb'	'to cause to make someone climb'
cukna	cukana	cukvana
'to be paid'	'to pay'	'to cause to pay'
cõkna	cõkana	cõkvana
'to be startled'	'to startle'	'to cause to startle'
chəpna	chapna	chəpvana
'to be printed'	'to print'	'to cause to print'
chidna	chedna	chidvana
'to be pierced'	'to pierce'	'to cause to pierce'
chinna	chīnna	chinvana
'to be snatched'	'to snatch'	'to cause to snatch'
chipna	chipana	chipvana
'to hide'	'to hide'	'to cause to hide'
chūṭna	choṛna	chuṛvana
'to be free'	'to free'	'to cause to free'

jəgna	*jəgana*	*jəgvana*
'to wake up'	'to wake up'	'to cause to wake up'
jəmna	*jəmana*	*jəmvana*
'to freeze'	'to freeze'	'to cause to freeze'
jəlna	*jəlana*	*jəlvana*
'to burn'	'to burn'	'to cause to burn'
jīna	*jilana*	*jilvana*
'to be alive'	'to make (someone) come alive	'to caue to make (someone) come alive'
juṛna	*joṛna*	*juṛvana*
'to be added'	'to add'	'to cause to add'
jhūlna	*jhulana*	*jhulvana*
'to swing'	'to make (someone) swing'	'to cause to make (someone) swing'
ṭə̃gna	*ṭãgna*	*ṭə̃gvana*
'to hang'	'to hang'	'to cause to hang'
ṭūṭna	*toṛna*	*tuṛvana*
'to break'	'to break'	'to cause to break'
ṭhəhərna	*ṭhəhrana*	*ṭhəhərvana*
'to stay'	'to make (someone) stay'	'to cause to make (someone) stay'
ḍərna	*ḍərana*	*ḍərvana*
'to fear'	'to make afraid'	'to cause to make (someone) afraid'
ḍūbna	*ḍubana*	*ḍubvana*
'to drown'	'to drowm'	'to cause to drown'
ḍhəlna	*ḍhalna*	*ḍhəlvana*
'to be poured'	'to pour'	'to cause to pour'

tənna	tanna	tənvana
'to be taut'	'to tighten'	'to cause to tighten'
tulna	tolna	tulvana
'to be weighed'	'to weigh'	'to cause to weigh'
dəbna	dəbana	dəbvana
'to be pressed'	'to press'	'to cause to press'
dɔṛna	dɔṛana	dɔṛvana
'to run'	'to make (someone) run'	'to cause to make (someone) run'
dhulna	dhona	dhulvana
'to be washed'	'to wash'	'to cause to wash'
nikəlna	nikalna	nikəlvana
'to come out'	'to bring out'	'to cause to bring out'
pəkna	pəkana	pəkvana
'to cook'	'to cook'	'to cause to cook'

pəlna	palna	pəlvana
'to be brought up'	'to bring (someone) up'	'to cause to bring (someone) up'
piṭna	pīṭna	piṭvana
'to be hit'	'to hit'	'to cause to hit'
pəhũcna	pəhũcana	pəhũcvana
'to arrive'	'to escort'	'to cause to escort'
pisna	pīsna	pisvana
'to be pulverized'	'to pulverize'	'to cause to pulverize'

phəṭna	phaṛna	phəṛvana
'to be torn'	'to tear'	'to cause to tear'
phuṭna	phoṛna	phuṛvana
'to be broken'	'to break'	'to cause to break'
phɛlna	phɛlana	phɛlvana
'to be spread'	'to spread'	'to cause to spread'
bə̃dhna	bə̃dhna	bə̃dhvana
'to be tied'	'to tie'	'to cause to tie'
bəcna	bəcana	bəcvana
'to be saved'	'to save'	'to cause to save'
bəjna	bəjana	bəjvana
'to be played'(i.e. music)	'to play'	'to cause to play'
bəṛhna	bəṛhana	bəṛhvana
'to grow'	'to grow'	'to cause to grow'
bədəlna	bədəlna	bədəlvana
'to change'	'to change'	'to cause to change'
bikna	becna	bikvana
'to be sold'	'to sell'	'to cause to sell'
bujhna	bujhana	bujhvana
'to go out'(i.e. a lamp)	'to put out'	'to cause to put out'
bɛṭhna	biṭhana	biṭhvana
'to sit'	'to seat'	'to cause to seat'
bhĩgna	bhigana	bhigvana
'to get drenched'	'to soak'	'to cause to soak'
mə̃jna	mãjna	mə̃jvana
'to be cleaned'(i.e. pots)	'to clean'	'to cause to clean'

miṭna	*miṭana*	*miṭvana*
'to be wiped away'	'to wipe away'	'to cause to wipe away'
muṛna	*moṛna*	*muṛvana*
'to turn'	'to turn'	'to cause to turn'
rukna	*rokna*	*rukvana*
'to stay'	'to stop'	'to cause to stop'
rona	*rulana*	*rulvana*
'to cry'	'to make (someone) cry'	'to cause (someone) to make someone cry'
lədna	*ladna*	*lədvana*
'to be loaded'	'to load'	'to cause to load'
luṭna	*lūṭna*	*luṭvana*
'to be robbed'	'to rob'	'to cause to rob'
leṭna	*liṭana*	*liṭvana*
'to lie'	'to lay'	'to cause to lay'
silna	*sīna*	*silvana*
'to be sewn'	'to sew'	'to cause to sew'
sūkhna	*sukhana*	*sukhvana*
'to dry'	'to dry'	'to cause to dry'
sudhərna	*sudharna*	*sudhərvana*
'to be mended'	'to mend'	'to cause to mend'
suləgna	*sulgana*	*suləgvana*
'to be lit'	'to light' (i.e. a fire)	'to cause to light'
hə̃sna	*hə̃sana*	*hə̃svana*
'to laugh'	'to make (someone' laugh'	'to cause to make (someone) laugh'

həṭna	*həṭana*	*həṭvana*
'to move away'	'to move'	'to cause to move'
harna	*hərana*	*hərvana*
'to lose' (i.e. a battle)	'to defeat'	'to cause to defeat'
hilna	*hilana*	*hilvana*
'to be shaken'	'to shake'	'to cause to shake'

2. kərna type

kəhna	*kəhəlvana*
'to say'	'to cause to say'
khərīdna	*khərīdvana*
'to buy'	'to cause to buy'
gana	*gəvana*
'to sing'	'to cause to sing'
cunna	*cunvana*
'to select'	'to cause to select'
cūmna	*cumvana*
'to kiss'	'to cause to kiss'
jãcna	*jə̃cvana*
'to examine'	'to cause to examine'
jotna	*jutvana*
'to yoke'	'to cause to yoke'
jhəlna	*jhəlvana*
'to fan'	'to cause to fan'
ḍãṭna	*ḍəṭvana*
'to scold'	'to cause to scold'

ḍhə̃kna	ḍhə̃kvana
'to cover'	'to cause to cover'
ḍhũ̄ṛhna	ḍhũṛhvana
'to search'	'to cause to search'
təlašna	tələšvana
'to look for'	'to cause to look for'
dəlna	dəlvana
'to grind'	'to cause to grind'
duhna	duhvana
'to milk'	'to cause to milk'
dhunna	dhunvana
'to gin'	'to cause to gin'
nigəlna	nigəlvana
'to swallow'	'to cause to swallow'
pəkəṛna	pəkəṛvana
'to catch'	'to cause to catch'
pūjna	pujvana
'to worship'	'to cause to worship'
bədəlna	bədəlvana
'to change' (i.e.a dress)	'to cause to change'
bulana	bulvana
'to call'	'to cause to call'
bona	bovana
'to plant'	'to cause to plant'
manna	mənvana
'to accept'	'to cause to accept'

rə̃gna 'to dye'	rə̃gvana 'to cause to dye'
rəkhna 'to keep''to put'	rəkhvana 'to cause to keep/put'
lena 'to take'	livana 'to cause to take'
sanna 'to mix'	sənvana 'to cause to mix'

3. khana type

oṛhna 'to cover'(oneself)	oṛhana 'to cover'(someone else)	oṛhvana 'to cause to cover'
khelna 'to play' (i.e. a game)	khelana 'to amuse'	khelvana 'to cause to amuse'
cəkhna 'to taste'	cəkhana 'to make (someone) taste	cəkhvana 'to cause to make (someone) taste'
caṭna 'to lick'	cəṭana 'to make (someone) lick'	cəṭvana 'to cause to make someone lick'
jītna 'to win'	jitana 'to make (someone) win'	jitvana 'to cause to make (someone) win'
dekhna 'to see'	dikhana 'to show'	dikhəlvana 'to cause to show'
pəṛhna 'to read'	pəṛhana 'to teach'	pəṛhvana 'to cause to be read'

pīna	*pilana*	*pilvana*
'to drink'	'to offer a drink (to someone)'	'to cause to offer a drink (to someone)'
rəṭna	*rəṭana*	*rəṭvana*
'to learn by heart'	'to teach'	'to cause to teach'
sīkhna	*sikhana*	*sikhvana*
'to learn'	'to teach'	'to cause to teach'
likhna	*likhana*	*likhvana*
'to write'	'to dictate'	'to cause to dictate'
sunna	*sunana*	*sunvana*
'to hear'	'to tell'	'to cause to tell'

4. *dena type*

pərosna		*pərosvana*
'to serve'		'to cause to serve'
becna		*bikvana*
'to sell'		'to cause to sell'
bhejna		*bhijvana*
'to send'		'to cause to send'
likhna		*likhvana*
'to write'		'to cause to write'
lɔṭana		*lɔṭvana*
'to return'		'to cause to return'

3.8. The following types of Verbal Complements are discussed in this section: Adjectival Complements and Adverbial Complements.

Adjectival Complements:

The following V's take Nominal Complements: *səməjhna*, *pana*, *dekhna*, *bənana*, *dhona*, *pəkana*, *kəhna*, *likhna*, *ləgna*, *jãcna* (to 'understand','find','see', 'make', 'wash', 'cook', 'say', 'write', 'appear to', 'appeal to'), for instance:

kəl mɛ̃ ne usko xuš dekha

'I saw him happy yesterday'

usne cavəl gīle pəkayə

'She cooked the rice watery'

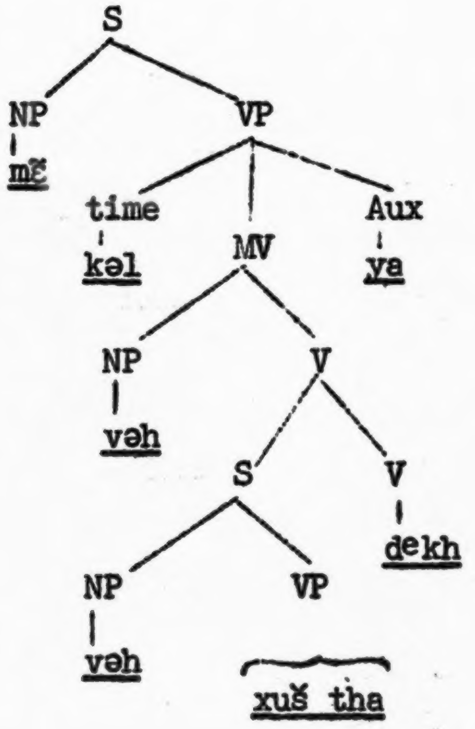
mujhko kitab dilcəsp ləgī

'The book appeared interesting to me.'

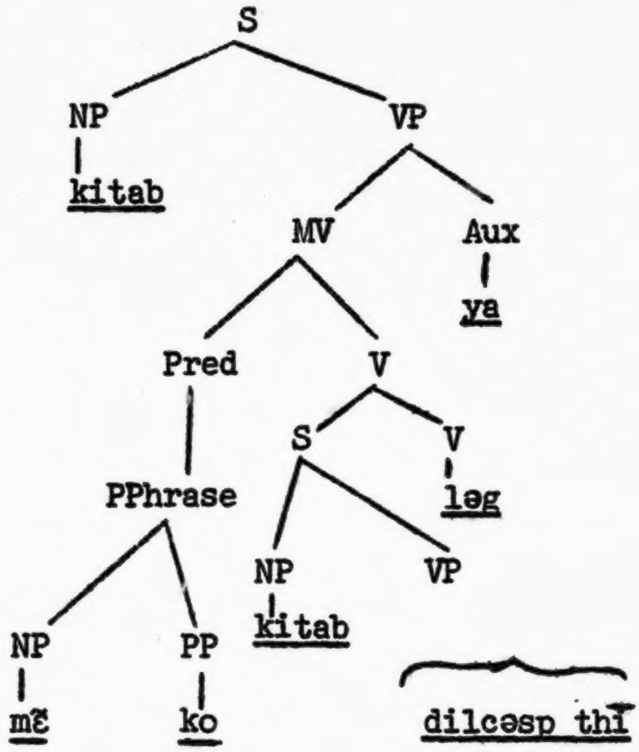
or 'I found the book interesting'

Notice that in the Transitive Verb sentences, the Verbal Complements *xuš* and *gīla* modify the Object N's *vəh* and *cavəl* respectively. In the Intransitive sentence, however, the complement *dilcəsp* modifies the underlying Subject N. That is, the sentences are of the following underlying structures:

Transitive Verb



Intransitive Verb:


S
NP
kitab
VP
MV
Aux
ya
Pred
V
PPhrase
S
V
ləg
NP
PP
mɛ̃
ko
NP
kitab
VP
dilcəsp thī

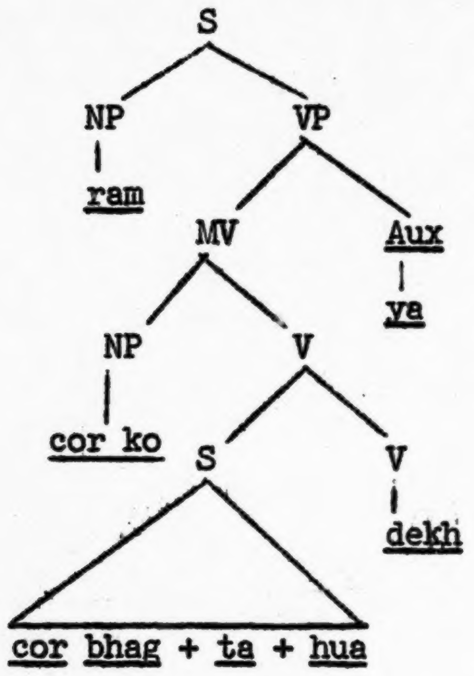
Adverbial Complement:

There are two types of Adverbial Complements (1) those that involve an imperfect participial form of the V, and (2) those that involve a perfect participial form of V. We shall discuss each of these separately:

Verbs such as *pana*, *dekhna*, *sunna*, *pəkəṛna*, *lana* ('to 'find', 'see', hear', catch', 'bring', respectively) take an imperfect participial Adverbial Complement i.e.

> *ram ne cor ko bhagte hue dekha*
>
> 'Ram saw the thief running away.'
>
> *mɛ̃ ne usko gate hue suna*
>
> 'I heard her singing'

The underlying structure of the above is as follows:


S
NP
VP
ram
MV
Aux
ya
NP
V
cor ko
S
V
dekh
cor bhag + ta + hua

Verbs such as dekhna, pana, pəkəṛna ('see', 'find', 'catch') take a perfect participial Adverbical Complement, e.g.,

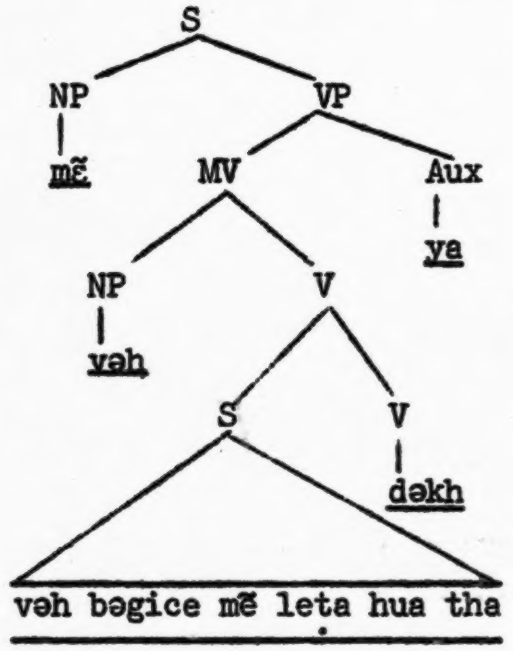
mẽ ne usko bəgice mẽ leṭe hue dekha

'I saw him lying in the garden.'

usne billī̃ ko dūdh ke bərtən mẽ mũh ḍale hue pəkṛa

'He caught the cat with its mouth in the pot of milk.'

The underlying structure of such sentences is as follows:


S
NP
VP
mẽ
MV
Aux
ya
NP
V
vəh
S
V
dəkh
vəh bəgice mẽ leṭa hua tha

Note that in the underlying structures, both for the imperfect and the perfect participial Adverbial Complements, the Subject of the embedded S is identical with the Object of the matrix S. In the case of the imperfect participial, the Aux of the embedded S has to be *ta* + *hua*, whereas for the perfect participial the embedded S has to contain *ya* + *hua* + *ho* + *Tns* as its Aux.

3.9. The Auxiliary element is made up of the following:

(i) The passive marker *ya* + *ja*, which has both passive and capabilitative meanings, e.g.,

kitab pəṛh lī gəyī

'the book was read'

mujhse nəhī̃ pəṛha jata

'I am not able to read.'

(ii) the modals, *sək* ('to be able to') and *cuk* (completive) e.g.,

vəh kha səkta hɛ

'He is able to eat.'

vəh kha cuka

'He has eaten (already)'

(iii) *na* (Proximate future or 'to have to') e.g.,

mujhko jana hɛ

'I have to go.'

(iv) *na* + *pəṛ* ('to be forced to') e.g.,

mujhko jana pəṛega

'I'll have to go' i.e., 'I'll be forced to go.'

(v) Aspect-markers, -ta (imperfective), -ya (perfective) and rəha (durative), e.g.,

vəh roz skūl jata hɛ

'He goes to school every day.'

vəh aj skūl gəya hɛ

He has gone to school today.'

vəh əbhī skūl ja rəha hɛ

'He is now going to school.'

(vi) The Aux ho which is marked for tense, number and gender, and person. For example, the following paradigm gives all the forms of the V and the Aux ho which follow the Verb cəlna 'to walk' in the Imperfect and Perfect tenses:

Optative

	1st Person	2nd Person		3rd Person
		Non-honorific	Honorific	
Singular	cəlū̃	cəle	cəliye	cəle
Plural	cəlẽ	cəlo	cəliye	cəlẽ

(For the rest, the third person plural, and the second person Honorific forms are identical.)

Future

	1st Person	2nd Person		3rd Person
Masc. Sing.	cəlū̃ga	cəlega	cəliyega	cəlega
Plur.	cəlẽge	cəloge		cəlẽge
Fem. Sing.	cəlū̃gī	cəlegī		cəlegī
Plur.	cəlẽgī	cəlogī		cəlẽgī

Present Imperfect

	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Masc. Sing.	cəlta hū̃	cəlta hɛ	cəlta hɛ
Plur.	cəlte hɛ̃	cəlte ho	cəlte hɛ̃
Fem. Sing.	cəltī hū̃	cəltī hɛ	cəltī hɛ
Plur.	cəltī hɛ̃	cəltī ho	cəltī hɛ̃

Past Imperfect

Masc.Sing.	cəlta tha	cəlta tha	cəlta tha
Plur.	cəlte the	cəlthe the	cəlte the
Fem.Sing.	cəltī thī	cəltī thī	cəltī thī
Plur.	cəltī thī̃	cəltī thī̃	cəlthī thī̃

Contingent Imperfect

Masc. Sing.	cəlta hoū̃	cəlta ho	cəlta ho
Plur.	cəlte hõ	cəlte hoo	cəlte hõ
Fem. Sing.	cəltī hoū̃	cəltī ho	cəltī ho
Plur.	cəltī hõ	cəltī hoo	cəltī hõ

Past Contingent Imperfect

Masc. Sing.	cəlta hota	cəlta hota	cəlta hota
Plur.	cəlte hote	cəlte hote	cəlte hote
Fem. Sing.	cəltī hotī	cəltī hotī	cəltī hotī
Plur.	cəltī hotī̃	cəltī hotī̃	cəltī hotī̃

Presumptive Imperfect

Masc. Sing.	cəlta hū̃ga	cəlta hoga	cəlta hoga
Plur.	cəlte hõge	cəlte hõge	cəlte hõge
Fem. Sing.	cəltī hū̃gī	cəltī hogī	cəltī hogī
Plur.	cəltī hõgī	cəltī hogī	cəltī hõgī

Present Perfect

	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Masc. Sing.	cəla hū̃	cəla hɛ	cəla hɛ
Plur.	cəle hɛ̃	cəle ho	cəle hɛ̃
Fem. Sing.	cəlī hū̃	cəlī hɛ	cəlī hɛ
Plur.	cəlī hɛ̃	cəlī ho	cəlī hɛ̃

Past Perfect

Masc. Sing.	cəla tha	cəla tha	cəla tha
Plur.	cəle the	cəle the	cəle the
Fem. Sing.	cəlī thī	cəlī thī	cəlī thī
Plur.	cəlī thī̃	cəlī thī̃	cəlī thī̃

Contingent Perfect

Masc. Sing.	cəla hoū̃	cəla ho	cəla ho
Plur.	cəle hõ	cəle hoo	cəle hõ
Fem. Sing.	cəlī hoū̃	cəlī ho	cəlī ho
Plur.	cəlī hõ	cəlī hoo	cəlī hõ

Past Contingent Perfect

Masc. Sing.	cəla hota	cəla hota	cəla hota
Plur.	cəle hote	cəle hote	cəle hote
Fem. Sing.	cəlī hotī	cəlī hotī	cəlī hotī
Plur.	cəlī hotī̃	cəlī hotī̃	cəlī hotī̃

Presumptive Perfect

Masc. Sing.	cəla hū̃ga	cəla hoga	cəla hoga
Plur.	cəle hõge	cəle hoge	cəle hõge
Fem. Sing.	cəlī hū̃gī	cəlī hogī	cəlī hogī
Plur.	cəlī hõgī	cəlī hogī	cəlī hõgī

(vii) The Imperfect and Perfect participial phrase-markers, -ta hua and -ya hua, which are not followed by aspect markers, but are followed by the Auxiliary Verb ho, and the non-finite ending -na which is not followed by either aspect markers or the Aux ho.

3.9.1. There are the following restrictions on the order in which the elements of the Aux can occur in sentences:

(i) we have to choose either the passive marker, or the na , or the na + pəṛ in the first place; they cannot follow each other. This can be represented as:

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{ya} + \text{ja} \\ \text{na} \\ \text{na} + \text{pəṛ} \end{array}\right\}$$

mujhse cəla jata hɛ	'I am capable of walking'
mujhko cəlna hɛ	'I have to walk'
mujhko cəlna pəṛta hɛ	'I am forced to walk'

(ii) Only ya + ja can be followed by both the models, sək and cuk; na + pəṛ + sək is also possible, therefore:

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{ya} + \text{ja} \left(\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{sək} \\ \text{cuk} \end{array}\right\} \right) \\ \text{na} + \text{pəṛ} \;\; (\text{sək}) \\ \text{na} \end{array}\right\}$$

roṭiyã khaī ja səktī hɛ̃	'The bread (pl) can be eaten.'
roṭiyã khaī ja cukī hɛ̃	'The breads have been eaten.'
mujhko jana pəṛ səkta hɛ	'I may have to go.'

(iii) These, except na are followed by the aspect, or the contingent future, or the future markers, therefore:

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{ya} + \text{ja} \left(\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{sək} \\ \text{cuk} \end{array}\right\} \right) \\ \text{na} + \text{pəṛ} \;\; (\text{sək}) \end{array}\right\} \quad \left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{e(ga)} \\ \text{Aspect} \end{array}\right\}$$

(iv) This sequence, if Aspect is chosen, may be followed by the Aux ho, and tense, number, gender and person marker; that is:

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{ya}} + \underline{\text{ja}}\ \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{sək}}\\ \underline{\text{cuk}}\end{array}\right\}\right) \\ \\ \underline{\text{na}} + \underline{\text{pəṛ}}\ \ (\underline{\text{sək}}) \end{array}\right\}\quad \text{Aspect (ho + Tns) NG}$$

For example:

V Opr *ya* *ja* perf. *ho* + present + plu (masc.)

sare *am* *toṛ* *liye* *gəye* *hẽ*

'All the mangoes have been gathered.'

(v) *na* must be followed by *ho* and Tense-markers in a finite VP, so the above has to be rewritten as:

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \left\{\begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{ya}} + \underline{\text{ja}}\ \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{sək}}\\ \underline{\text{cuk}}\end{array}\right\}\right) \\ \\ \underline{\text{na}} + \underline{\text{pəṛ}}\ \ (\underline{\text{sək}}) \end{array}\right\} \quad \left\{\begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{e}}\ (\underline{\text{ga}}) \\ \\ \text{Aspect } (\underline{\text{ho}} + \text{Tns}) \end{array}\right\} \\ \underline{\text{na}} + \underline{\text{ho}} + \text{Tns} \end{array}\right\}\quad \text{NG}$$

(vi) Notice that the elements *ya* + *ja*, *na* + *pəṛ*, *sək*, *cuk*, and *ho* + Tns are optional, so they may or may not be chosen. This can be represented by:

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \left\{\begin{array}{l} (\underline{\text{ya}} + \underline{\text{ja}})\ \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{sək}}\\ \underline{\text{cuk}}\end{array}\right\}\right) \\ \\ \underline{\text{na}} + \underline{\text{pəṛ}}\ (\text{sək}) \end{array}\right\} \quad \left\{\begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{e}}\ (\underline{\text{ga}}) \\ \underline{\text{ta}} \\ \underline{\text{ya}}\quad (\underline{\text{ho}} + \text{Tns}) \\ \underline{\text{rəha}} + \underline{\text{ho}} + \text{Tns.} \end{array}\right\} \\ \underline{\text{na}} + \underline{\text{ho}} + \text{Tns} \end{array}\right\}$$

(vii) To provide for the non-finite forms (cf. section 3.8. for such forms in the Auxiliary) such as V + *ta* *hua*, V + *ya* *hua*, V + *na*, the above has to be rewritten as:

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \left\{\begin{array}{l} (\underline{\text{ya}} + \underline{\text{ja}}) \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{sək}}\\ \underline{\text{cuk}}\end{array}\right\}\right) \\ \underline{\text{na}} + \underline{\text{pəṛ}}\ \ (\underline{\text{sək}}) \end{array}\right\} \\ \underline{\text{na}}\ (\underline{\text{ho}} + \text{Tns}) \end{array}\right\} \left\{\begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{e}}\ (\underline{\text{ga}}) \\ \left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{ta}}\\ \underline{\text{ya}}\end{array}\right\} (\underline{\text{hua}})\ (\underline{\text{ho}} + \text{Tns}) \\ \underline{\text{rəha}} + \underline{\text{ho}} + \text{Tns} \end{array}\right\} \left.\begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \end{array}\right\}$$

(viii) a. $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{sək}}\\ \underline{\text{cuk}}\end{array}\right\} \ \underline{\text{rəha}} + \underline{\text{ho}} + \text{Tns} \\ -\underline{\text{ta}} + \underline{\text{hua}} + \underline{\text{ho}} + \text{Tns} \end{array}\right\}$ sequences do not occur

b. V + $\underline{\text{na}}$ is not a finite V form

There are, as has already been said, three Aspects in Hindi, e.g.,

-ta	-	vəh khata hɛ	'He eats'
-ya	-	usne khaya hɛ	'He has eaten'
-rəha	-	vəh kha rəha hɛ	'He is eating'

There are five tenses:

ho +	Present	= hɛ
	Past	= tha
	Contingent	= ho
	Past Contingent	= hota
	Presumptive	= hoga

The constituents of the Auxiliary in 3.9, provided the restrictions mentioned are observed, correctly yield all the permissible sequences.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The motivations for expanding the Constituent VP in a grammar of Hindi are given in detail in Y. Kachru's *A Transformational Treatment of Hindi Verbal Syntax*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London,1965.

2. Historically, the Verb *ho* derives from old Indo-Aryan root *bhū* , whereas *hε* derives from the root *as* and *tha* from the root *sthā*. See Kellogg: *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, (London, 1955 ed.) (p. 232, footnote).

3. The problems connected with how to analyze double object constructions in languages such as English and Hindi have by no means all been solved. For some discussion of the problems that face a grammarian of English see Barbara Hall's *Subject and Object in English*, M.I.T. dissertation 1965 (unpublished) and C. J. Fillmore's *Indirect Object Constructions in English and the Ordering of Transformations*, Monographs in Linguistic Analysis, No.1, 1965, Mouton and Co. The Hague. In the case of Hindi, some double object constructions clearly have a transformational origin (cf. the discussion on Causatives, 3.7, pp. 62 - 81), whereas others, e.g. sentences involving the double object verbs such as *likhna* 'write', *pərosna* 'serve' etc. do not seem to have such a transformational source.

   The label Dative for the node specifying the Indirect Object in the diagram on p. 14 (and in subsequent diagrams) has been used only for the sake of convenience of exposition. It is, however, clear that the rewrite of VP in a grammar of Hindi as:

   VP → (PPhrase)(PPhrase) NP V

following Chomsky's suggestion for English in the Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (The M.I.T. Press, 1965, Paragraph 2, Aspects of Deep Structure, pp. 64 - 106) is not adequate. The postpositional phrases have to be further sub-categorized to provide the frame for correct sub-categorization of verbs, and the category of Indirect Object is important for this purpose. A detailed discussion of various adverbial phrases is also necessary.

4. The view taken in this section has been that the Ergative construction (i.e. the ne construction) is a phenomenon of the surface structure, the underlying structure of Hindi sentences is the Subject-Object type.

   For an opposite view, namely that it might be advisable to consider the Ergative as the underlying structure even for English (and thus reduce the Subject-Object to surface phenomenon), see C. J. Fillmore, A Proposal Concerning English Prepositions (unpublished).

5. Much more detailed work on Compound and Conjunct Verbs in Hindi is needed, as the problems raised and solutions suggested in the works available do not answer all the questions regarding these sub-classes of Hindi Verbs.

6. The discussion of Causative has been fairly controversial. For some discussion of this construction in languages such as English, Japanese, Gujarati, etc. see the following:

   S. Y. Kuroda,'Causative Forms in Japanese'in Foundations of Language No. 1, pp. 30 - 50.

   Barbara Hall, Subject and Object in English, M.I.T. 1965 (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis).

P. Lakoff, *On the Nature of Syntactic Irregularity* (Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University, 1965); Mathematical Linguistics and Automatic Translation, Report No. NSF-16, The Computation Laboratory, Harvard University (1965).

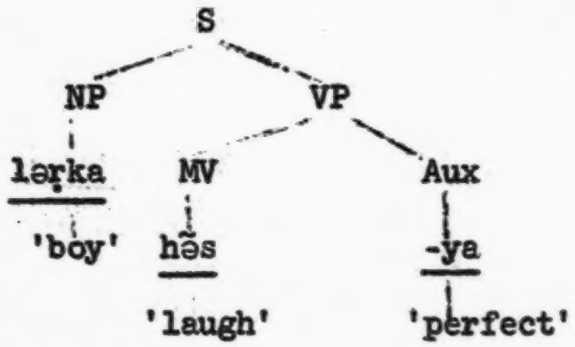
P. J. Mistry, Causative Constructions in Gujarati (paper presented at the Linguistic Society of America Meeting, Summer 1966).

THE NOUN PHRASE

4.0 THE NOUN PHRASE

In the last section, we have already mentioned what we mean by VP. In this section, we will discuss the structure of NP.

A simple Noun may be the NP as in the following diagram:



ləṛka hə̃sa

'boy' 'laughed'

The N can be modified in several ways, for example:

a) it can be preceded by a demonstrative

vəh ləṛka hə̃sa

'That boy laughed'

b) it can be preceded by a demonstrative and a numeral

ve do ləṛka aye

'those''two''boys''came'

c) The numeral can consist of an ordinal and a cardinal

pəhle do ləṛka bɛthe

'first''two''boys''sat'

axirī car səntəre səṛ gəye

'last''four''oranges''rotted'

d) The N can be preceded by an Adj (cf. Section 5):

mīṭhe am lao

'sweet''mangoes''bring'

'Bring (some) sweet mangoes.'

e) It can be preceded by a genitive phrase:

merī kitab kho gəī

'my' 'book' 'was lost'

'My book was lost.'

The last two involve complex processes of embedding and introduce a new component in NP. We shall discuss these components first.

4.1. All Hindi grammars say that a N may be preceded by an Adj:

choṭa ləṛka ro pəṛa

'small' 'boy' 'burst out crying'

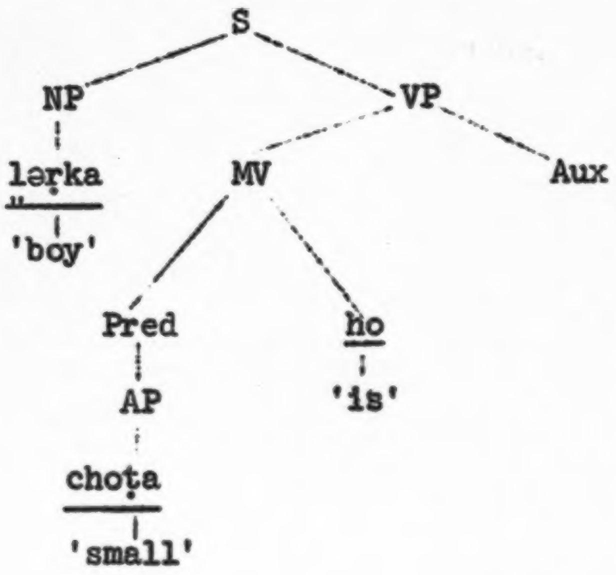
'The small boy burst out crying'

mujhe vəh lal pensil do

'to me' 'that' 'red' pencil' 'give'

'Give me that red pencil.'

Although the Adj's occur in the prenominal position, in the deep structure such Adj + N phrases are actually related to the copula sentences of the type:



ləṛka choṭa hɛ

'The boy is small'

Notice that the selection restrictions that apply to the NP and AP in the above type of sentence also apply to the Adj and N in the Adj + N type phrases. For example, we have no sentences:

* kursī khəṭṭī hɛ

'chair''sour' 'is'

'The chair is sour'

* cəṭnī əndhī hɛ

'chutney''blind''is'

'The chutney is blind.'

and we do not have such Adj + N phrases either:

* khəṭṭī kursī

'sour' chair'

* əndhī cəṭnī

'blind''chutney'

We have sentences such as:

cəṭnī khəṭṭī hɛ

'chutney''sour''is'

'(The) chutney is sour.'

kursī məhə̃gī hɛ

'chair''costly''is'

'(The) chair is costly.'

ləṛkī əndhī hɛ

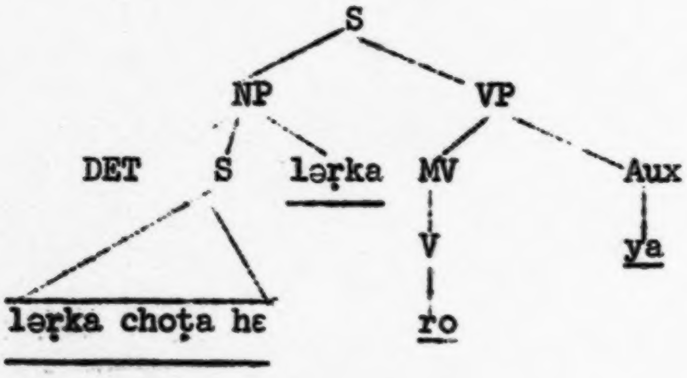
'girl''blind''is'

'(The) girl is blind.'

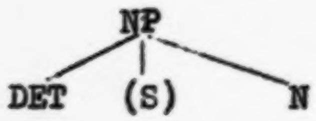
and we have phrases such as:

khəṭṭī cəṭnī	məhə̃gī kursī	əndhī ləṛkī
'sour chutney'	'costly chair'	'blind girl'

Sentences such as choṭa ləṛka roya are really made up of two sentences:



All Adj + N phrases involve embedding of a sentence. Therefore we can say that the NP is made up of DET (S) N:



The S is optional in the above diagram, because some NP's do not contain an Adj. The process of embedding of an Adj in a NP involves relative clauses so we shall discuss them first. [1]

4.1.1 Given two sentences such as the following:

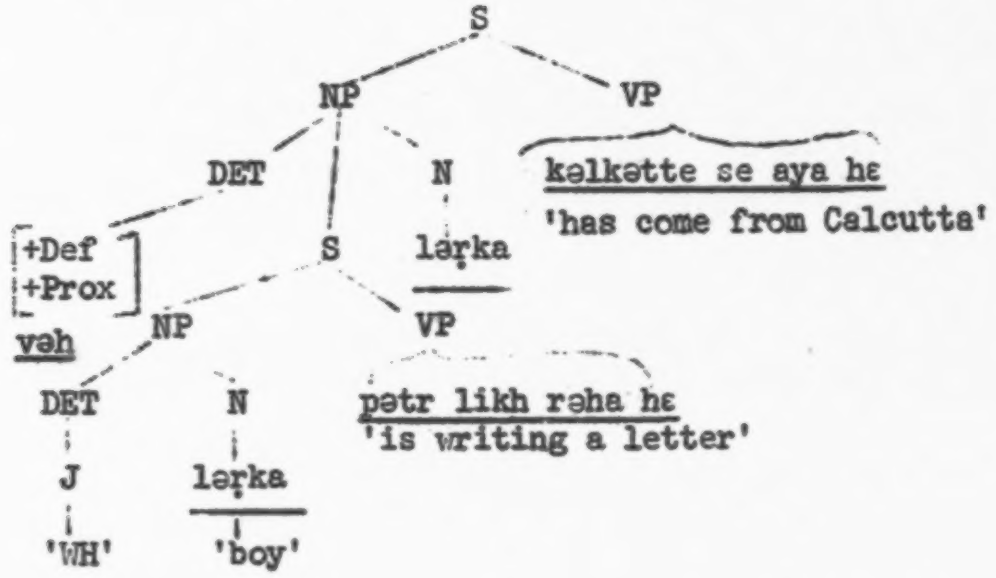
Matrix S: vəh ləṛka kəlkətte se aya hɛ

'That boy has come from Calcutta.'

Embedded S: ləṛka pətr likh rəha hɛ

'(The) boy is writing (a) letter.'

the Embedded S may be transformed into a relative clause and attached to the Matrix S, provided the embedded S is a constituent of a NP with which it shares an identical N, (i.e., ləṛka in the above sentences). The relationship of vəh ləṛka in the Matrix S and J-ləṛka in the Embedded S is clarified by the following diagram:


S
NP
VP
DET
N
kəlkətte se aya hɛ
'has come from Calcutta'
+Def
+Prox
S
ləṛka
vəh
NP
VP
DET
N
pətr likh rəha hɛ
'is writing a letter'
J
ləṛka
'WH'
'boy'

The relativization of the embeddes S in the above diagram yields

jo	ləṛka	pətr	likh	rəha	hɛ	vəh	kəlkətte	se	aya	hɛ
'which'	'boy'	'letter'	'write'	'ing'	'is'	'that'	'Calcutta'	'from'	'come'	'has'

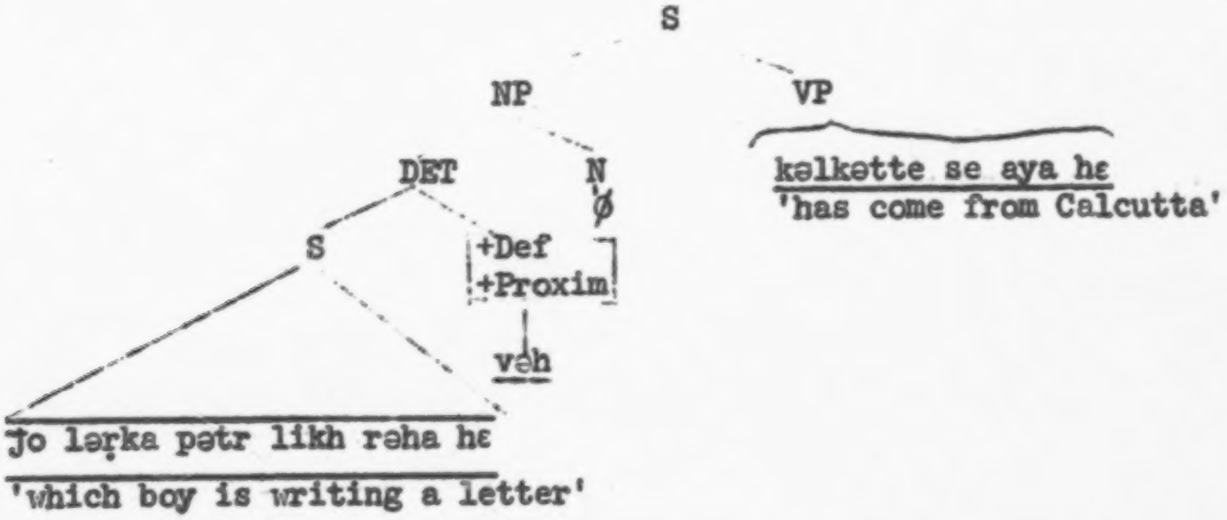
'(The) boy who is writing (a) letter has come from Calcutta."

The prosess of generating a complex sentence with a relative clause is as follows:

(i) Permute the Def. DET of the Matrix S with the Embedded S,

(ii) delete the repeated N

The following diagram illustrates the result of these operations:


S
NP
VP
kəlkətte se aya hɛ
'has come from Calcutta'
DET
N
Ø
S
+Def
+Proxim
vəh
jo ləṛka pətr likh rəha hɛ
'which boy is writing a letter'

Note that the relative DET J is realized as jo as it is followed by a N which is not followed by any postposition. If it were, the relative DET would be realized as jis (cf. the following example). The relative DET J of Hindi is comparable to the WH element of English, which together with the following N underlies forms such as 'who,''which,''what' ''whom, 'whose,'etc. (see Notes for further discussion of the role of J in Hindi and WH in English).

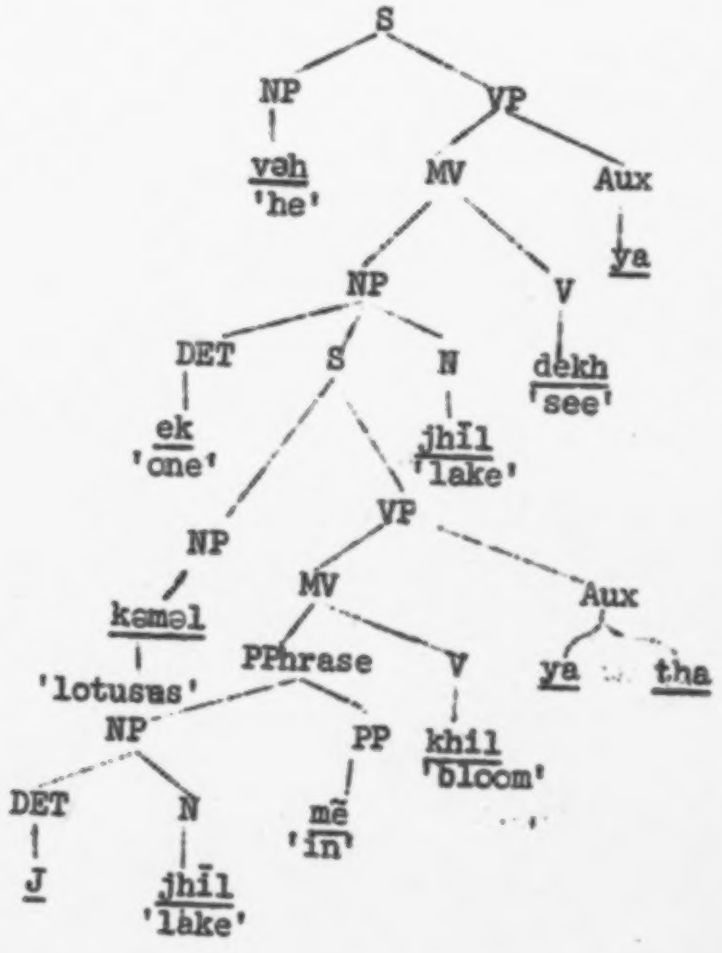
Note that it is not necessary for the identical N's in the Matrix and Embedded S's to have the same grammatical function, i.e., although in the example given above, ləṛka happens to be the Subject N of both the matrix and the embedded S, this is not always the case. Consider the following examples:

usne ek jhīl dekhī jismẽ kəməl khile the

'he' 'one''lake' 'saw' 'which in' 'lotuses' 'bloomed''had'

'He saw a lake in which lotuses were blooming.'

The underlying structure of this sentence is

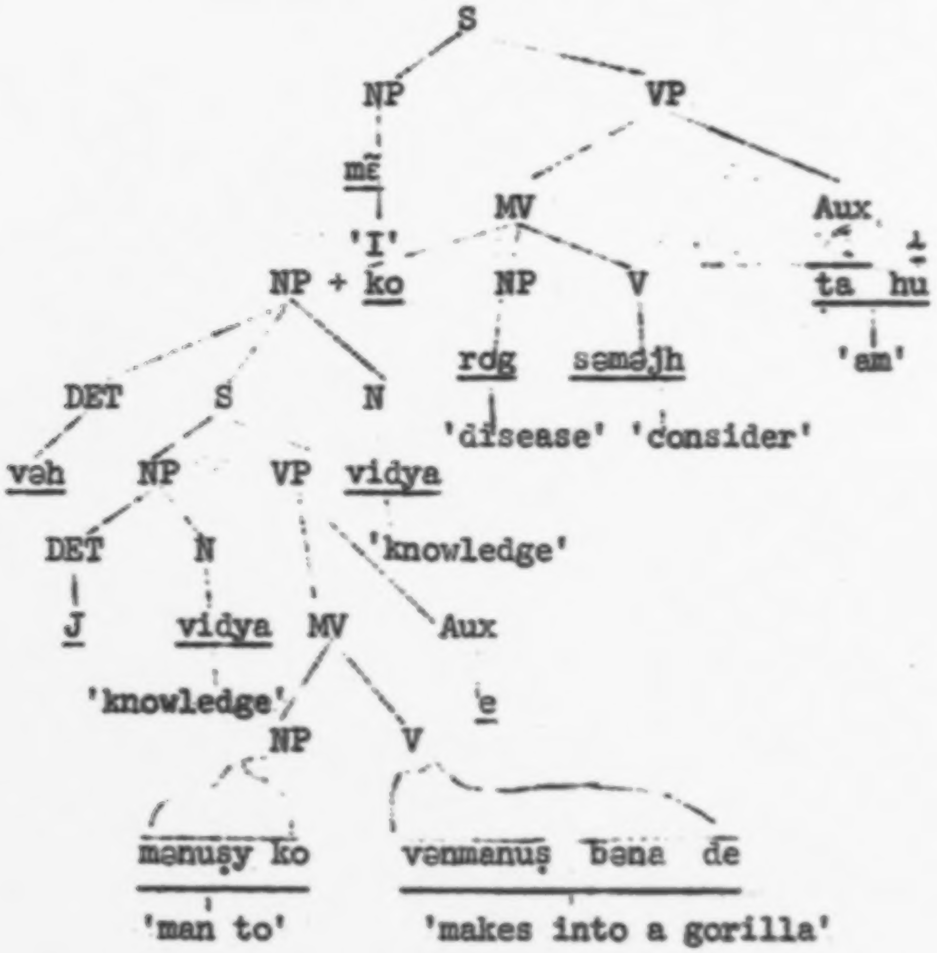

S
NP
VP
vəh
'he'
MV
Aux
ya
NP
V
dekh
'see'
DET
S
N
ek
'one'
jhīl
'lake'
VP
NP
kəməl
'lotuses'
MV
Aux
PPhrase
V
ya
tha
NP
PP
khil
'bloom'
DET
N
mẽ
'in'
J
jhīl
'lake'

mɛ̃	us	vidya	ko	rog	səməjhtī	hū̃	jo	mənuṣy	ko	vənmanuṣ
'I'	'that'	'knowledge'		disease	'consider'		'which'	'man'		'gorilla'

bəna de
'makes'

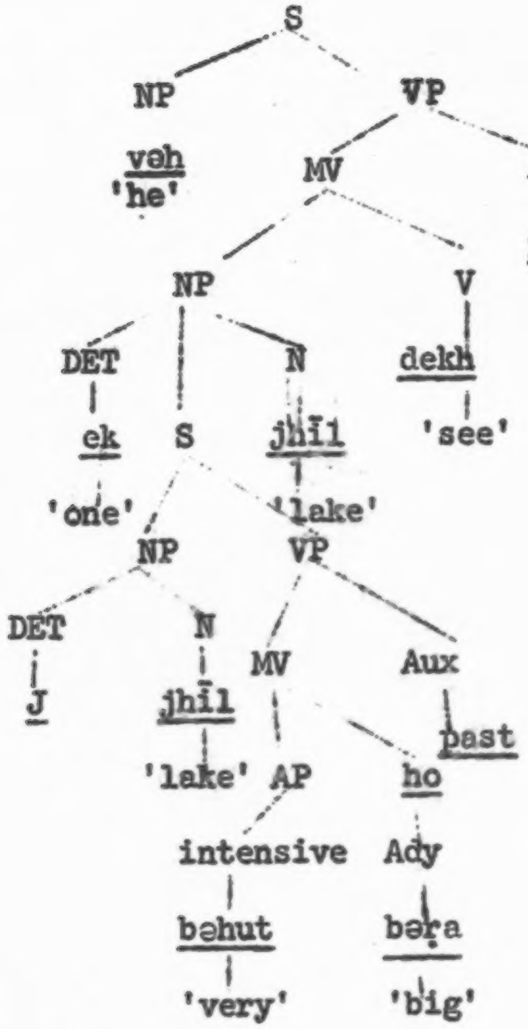
I consider that knowledge a disease which turns a man into a gorilla.

The underlying structure of this sentence is:



S
NP
VP
mɛ̃
'I'
MV
Aux
NP + ko
NP
V
ta hu
rog
səməjh
'am'
'disease'
'consider'
DET
S
N
vəh
NP
VP
vidya
'knowledge'
DET
N
J
vidya
MV
Aux
'knowledge'
e
NP
V
mənuṣy ko
vənmanuṣ bəna de
'man to'
'makes into a gorilla'

Notice that when the modified N is not the Subject N, the relative clause does not precede the modified N; rather it follows the Matrix S. There is, however, a good reason why the relative clause is said to be embedded in the pre-N position. Notice what happens when the embedded S is a copula sentence with an AP as its constituent:


S
NP
VP
vəh
'he'
MV
Aux
ya
NP
V
DET
N
dekh
ek
S
jhīl
'see'
'one'
'lake'
NP
VP
DET
N
MV
Aux
J
jhīl
past
'lake'
AP
ho
intensive
Ady
bəhut
bəṛa
'very'
'big'

That is, the matrix and embedded S's are:

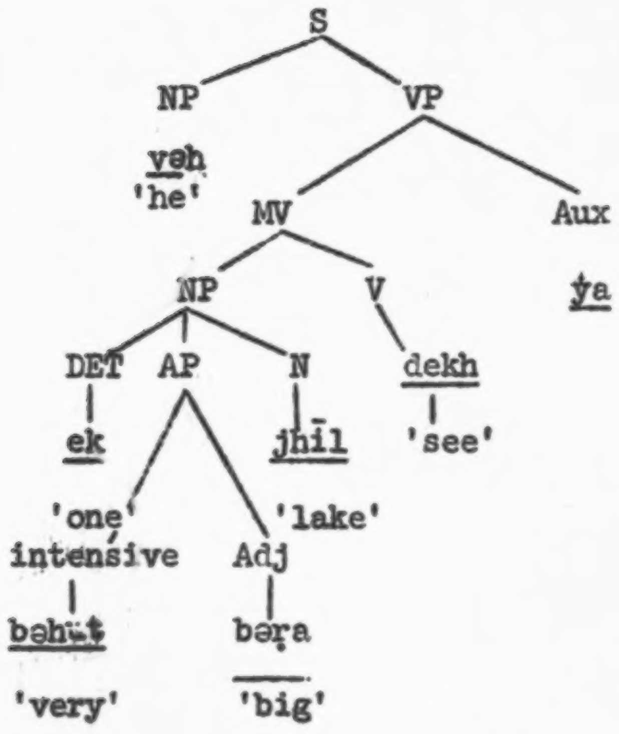
Matrix S: usne ek S jhīl dekhī

'He saw a S lake'

Embedded S: J - jhīl bəhut bəṛī thī

WH -'lake was very big'

The embedded S can be reduced by deleting the identical N jhīl and the ho + past, leaving only the AP intact. The AP can subsequently be attached to the NP in the post-DET position. The derived structure will then be as follows:

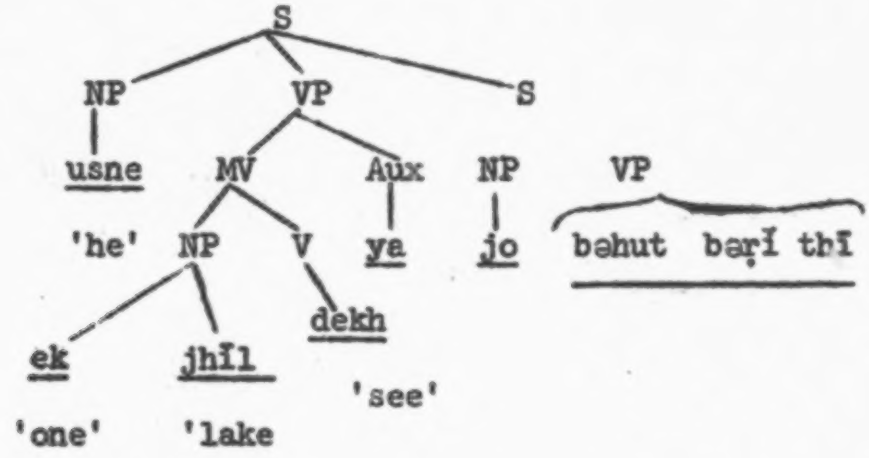

S
NP
VP
yəh
'he'
MV
Aux
NP
V
ya
DET
AP
N
dekh
ek
jhīl
'see'
'one'
'lake'
intensive
Adj
bəhut
bəṛa
'very'
'big'

usne ek bəhut bəṛī jhīl dekhī

'he''one''very''big''lake''saw'

'He saw a very big lake.'

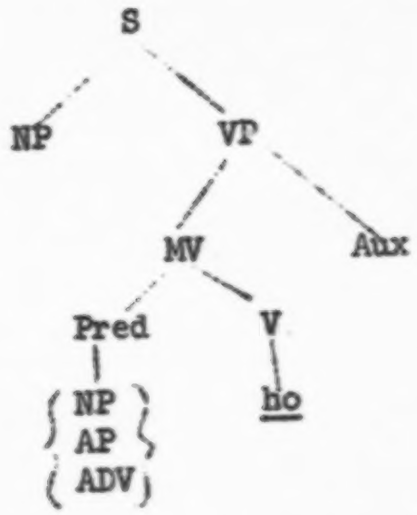
If, however, the relative clause, though containing an AP, is not reduced, it is moved to the end of the sentence. Such extrapostion yields:


S
NP
VP
S
usne
MV
Aux
NP
VP
'he'
NP
V
ya
jo
bəhut bəṛī thī
dekh
ek
jhīl
'see'
'one'
'lake

usne ek jhīl dekhī jo bəhut bəṛī thī

4.1.2. The process of embedding a genitive phrase in the pre-N position involves the following: [2]

In section 3.0 it was said that the V ho could be preceded by NP, AP, or ADV, i.e.,



Various types of Adverbial Phrases occur in this position. For instance:

Locational Adverbial

šer mãd mẽ hɛ

'lion''den' 'in' 'is'

'The lion is in the den.'

ciṛiya ḍal pər hɛ

'bird''branch''on''is'

'The bird is on the branch.'

nədī ke pas šəhər hɛ

'river''of''near''city''is'

'There is a city near the river.'

Purpose Adverbial

panī pīne ke liye hɛ

'water''drinking''for''is'

'The water is for drinking.'

Possessive Adverbial

kisan ke ek gay hɛ

'peasant''Poss''one''cow' 'is'

'The peasant has a cow.'

ram ke pas saikil hɛ

'ram''of''Poss''bicycle''is'

Ram has a bicycle.'

mujhko sirdərd hɛ

'to me' 'headache''is'

'I have a headache.'

mohən mẽ utsah hɛ

'Mohan''in''enthusiasm''is'

'Mohan has enthusiasm.'

Notice that the possessive adverbials, kisan ke, ram ke pas, mujhko and mohən mẽ precede the Subject N's of the sentences (i.e., gay, saikil, sirdərd, and utsəh respectively).

Sentences such as the above can be embedded in a Matrix S and transformed to relative clauses, e.g.,

jo šer mãd mẽ hɛ vəh ghayəl hɛ

'The lion which is in the den is wounded.'

jo ciṛiya ḍal pər hɛ use golī mət maro

'Do not shoot the bird which is on the branch.'

ram ke pas jo saikil hɛ vəh use inam mẽ milī thī

'The cycle that Ram has was given to him as a prize.'

nədī ke pas jo šəhər hɛ usmẽ mera məkan hɛ

'My house is in the city which is near the river.'

jo panī pīne ke liye hɛ vəh əbhī ṭhənḍa nəhī̃ huɛ

"The water which is for drinking is not cold yet.'

jo gay kisan kī hɛ vəh bəṛī dudharu hɛ

'The cow which belongs to the peasant is very productive.'

Notice that only the possessive ADV containing N + *ke* (e.g., *kisan ke*) undergoes a change in the relativization process, i.e., the postposition *ke* is changed to *ka*, which then agrees in number and gender with the following N, *gay*.

The above relative clauses, except the ones containing locational adverbials, can be reduced to phrases of *N + ka* type. For example:

pīne ka panī - 'drinking water'
kisan kī gay - 'the peasant's cow'
ram kī saikil - 'Ram's bicycle'

Also, the sentences:

mujhko sirdərd hɛ - 'I have a headache'

and

mohən mẽ utsah hɛ - 'Mohan has enthusiasm'

can be reduced to phrases such as:

mera sirdərd - 'my headache'
mohən ka utsah - 'Mohan's enthusiasm'

Notice that when *ke pas* means 'in possession of' as in:

ram ke pas saikil hɛ - 'Ram has a bicycle'

it reduces to *ka*, but when it means 'near to' as in:

nədī ke pas šəhər hɛ - 'There is a city near the river.'

it does not; there is no phrase

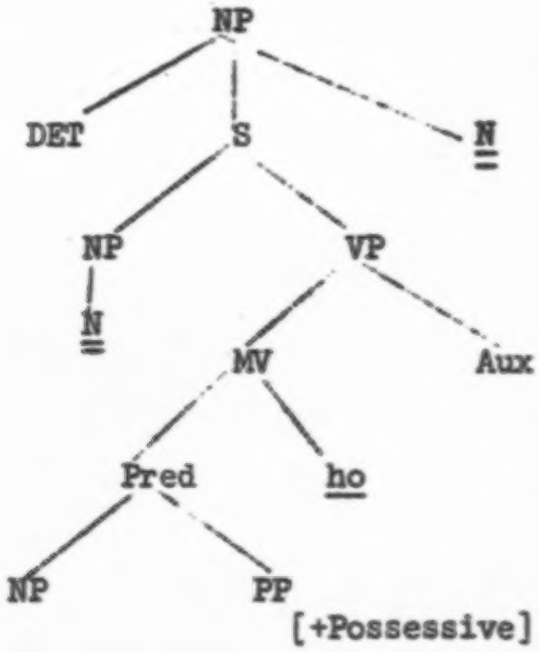
* *nədī ka šəhər*

Notice also that although all the following phrases are similar, only the latter four are possessive phrases:

pīne ka panī - 'drinking water'
kisan kī gay - 'the peasant's cow'

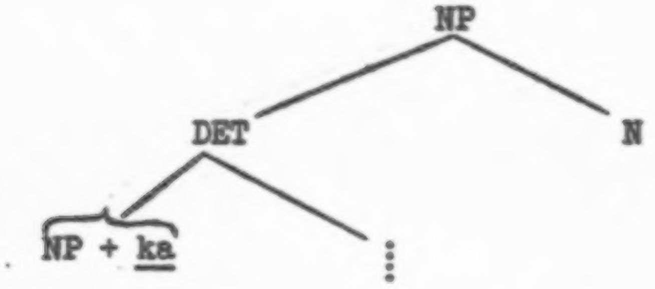
ram kī saikil	-	'Ram's bicycle'
mera sirdərd	-	'my headache'
mohən ka utsah	-	'Mohan's enthusiasm'

The underlying structure of most possessive phrase + N type NP's is as follows:


NP
DET
S
N
NP
VP
N
MV
Aux
Pred
ho
NP
PP
[+Possessive]

The underscored N's must be identical for the relative-clause embedding to take place.

If the relative clause is reduced to a possessive phrase, the resulting structure is:


NP
DET
N
NP + ka

The genitive phrases such as:

pīne ka panī	-	'drinking water'
pətthər ka məkan	-	'stone house'
ram kī təsvīr	-	'Ram's picture'

šekspiər ke naṭək- 'Shakespeare's plays'

are derived from copula and other sentences. For instance, *pətthər ka məkan* is derived from:

məkan pətthər $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{se}}\\\underline{\text{ka}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ *bəna hɛ*

'The house is made $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{with}\\\text{of}\end{matrix}\right\}$ stone.'

The phrase *ram kī təsvīr* can be derived from three source sentences:

Possessive *ram ke pas təsvīr hɛ*

'Ram has a picture

Agentive *Ram ne təsvīr bənaī*

'Ram made a picture'

which yields the phrase (such phrases are discussed in 5.1.2)

ram kī bənaī təsvīr

'the picture made by Ram'

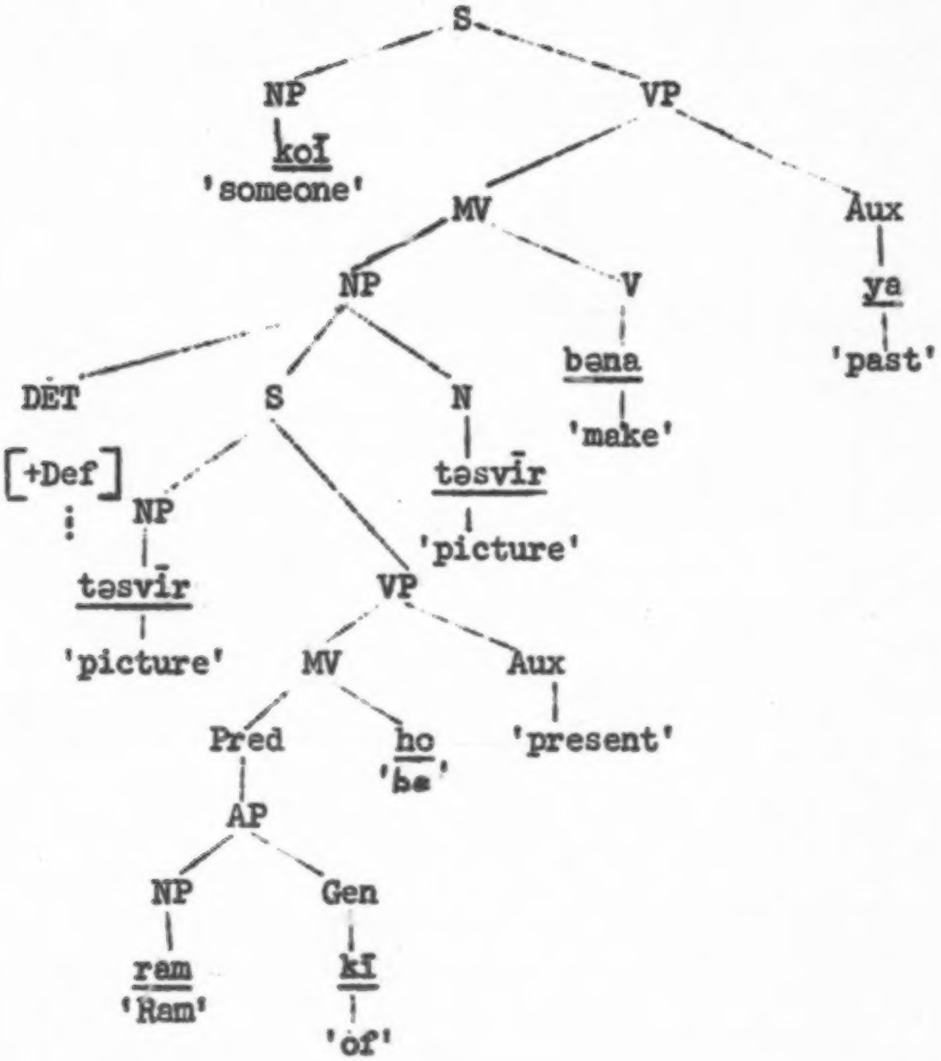
which is further reduced to:

ram kī təsvīr

Genitive *kisī ne ram kī təsvīr bənaī*

'Someone made a picture of Ram.'

which has the underlying structure:


S
NP
VP
koī
'someone'
MV
Aux
NP
V
ya
bəna
'past'
DET
S
N
'make'
[+Def]
NP
təsvīr
təsvīr
'picture'
VP
'picture'
MV
Aux
Pred
ho
'be'
'present'
AP
NP
Gen
ram
'Ram'
kī
'of'

That is why a phrase such as

ram kī təsvīr

is three ways ambiguous; it could either mean 'the picture owned by Ram,' or 'the picture made by Ram' or 'the picture in the likeness of Ram.'

It is important to discuss the constraints on the possessive postpositions ke, ke pas, ko and mẽ before we move over to other topics. Consider the following sentences:

ram ke ek beṭa hɛ

'Ram has a son.'

gay ke ek pũch hotī hɛ

'The cow (normally) has a tail.'

mere pas do nɔkər hɛ̃

'I have two servants.'

unke pas kəī məkan hɛ̃

'He has many houses.'

bəcce ko khãsī hɛ

'The child has a cough.'

kəviyõ me kəlpəna-šəkti hotī hɛ

'Poets (usually) have the power of imagination.'

Also note that the following are unacceptable:

* ram $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{ke pas}\\ \text{mẽ}\\ \text{ko}\end{array}\right\}$ ek bəṭa hɛ

* $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{mere}\\ \text{mujhko}\\ \text{mujhmẽ}\end{array}\right\}$ ek nɔkər hɛ

* $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{un ke}\\ \text{ko}\\ \text{mẽ}\end{array}\right\}$ kəī məkan hɛ̃

* bəcce $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{ke}\\ \text{ke pas}\\ \text{mẽ}\end{array}\right\}$ khãsī hɛ

* kəviyõ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{ke}\\ \text{ke pas}\\ \text{ko}\end{array}\right\}$ kəlpəna-šəkti hotī hɛ

In some dialects, however, the following are acceptable:

ram ko ek beṭa hɛ

kəviyõ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{ke pas}\\ \text{ko}\end{array}\right\}$ kəlpəna-šəkti hotī hɛ

We can, however, formulate the following rules. The possessor N is always animate, the possessed N has to belong to the following specified categories for the correct occurrence of ke, ke pas, ko and mẽ:

Porsessor	Possessed	Possessive Postposition
1. + Animate	a. + Animate b. - Animate -Abstract ⟨part of body⟩	ke
2. + Animate	a. + human - status b. - Animate - Abstract	ke pas
3. + Animate	+ Abstract ⟨Sensations⟩	ko
4. _ Animate	+ Abstract ⟨emotional state⟩	mẽ

That is to say, ke occurs when the possessed N is either an Animate N (gay 'cow', beṭa 'son,' etc.) or an Inanimate N denoting a part of the body (pũch 'tail,' hath 'hand,' etc.); ke pas occurs when the possessed N belongs to a class of human N's which have no status, i.e., which cannot be used as honorific N's (nəkər 'servant,' rəsoiya 'cook,' etc.), or when it belongs to the category of concrete N's (məkan 'house,' kitab 'book,' etc.); ko occurs when the possessed N is an abstract N denoting sensations of pleasure, pain, etc. (xušī 'pleasure,' dərd 'pain,' etc.) and mẽ occurs when the possessed N is an abstract N denotion emotional states (utsəh 'enthusiasm,' dhɛry 'patience,' etc.).

4.1.3. It has already been said that the NP can contain an S which yields various complements of N (cf. Section 2.0). Consider the following sentences:

usne yəh kəha ki usne pɛse nəhī̃ curaye

'He''this''said''that''he''money''not''stole'

'He said that he did not steal the money.'

usne yəh bat kəhī ki usne pɛse nəhī̃ curaye

'he''this''statement''said''that''he''money''not''stole'

'He said (N) - that he did not steal the money.'

yəh səc hɛ ki himaləy ke drišy nirale hɛ̃

'It is true that the scenery in the Himalayas is unique.'

yəh bat səc hɛ ki himaləy ke drišy nirale hɛ̃

'This statement is true that the scenery in the Himalayas is unique.'

Notice that the sentence following ki in each case is an extension of the NP yəh bat. This may be made clear by rearranging the sentences in the following way:

usne yəh bat - ki usne pɛse nəhī̃ curaye - kəhī

'he''this''statement'-'that he didn't steal the money'-'said'

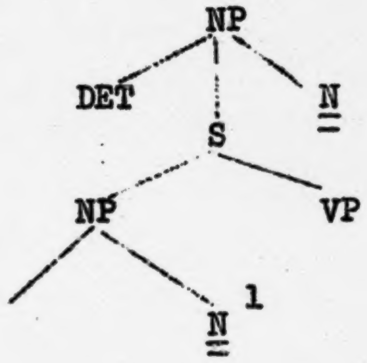
yəh bat -ki himaləy ke drišy nirale hɛ̃ - səc hɛ

'This statement'-'that the scenes on the Himalayas are unique'-'is true'

Sentences similar to the ki sentences above will be called Complements in the following discussion. In the above examples, the following are the Matrix and the embedded S's:

Matrix S: usne yəh bat kəhī - 'He made this statement.'
Embedded S: usne pɛse nəhī̃ curaye - 'He didn't steal the money.'
Matrix S: yəh bat səc hɛ - 'This statement is true.'
Embedded S: himaləy ke drišy nirale hɛ̃ - 'The scenes on the Himalayas are unique.'

These are instances of NP complementation, as the embedded S's extend the NP yəh bat. Such structures will be discussed in detail in the following pages. Notice that for NP complementation, given an underlying representation:



The N^1 must be different from N.

NP Complementation

Both direct and oblique NP's can be extended by sentential complements. For example:

yəh siddh ho gəya ki ram nirdoṣ hɛ
'This''proven''has''been''that' 'Ram''innocent''is'
'It is proved that Ram is innocent.'

mujhko malūm hɛ ki vəh bəmbəī cəla gəya
'me to' known''is''that''he' 'Bombay' 'went' 'away'
'I know that he has gone to Bombay.'

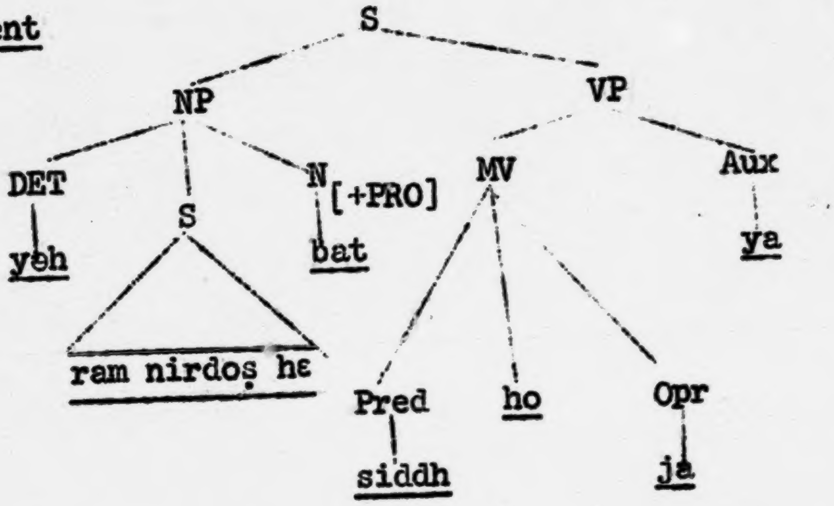
mujko is bat ka dukh hɛ ki vəh nəhī̃ rukī
'me to''this''fact''of''sorrow''is''that''she''not''stopped'
'I am sorry(of this) that she didn't stay.'

ram is bat pər xuš hua ki use chuṭṭī mil gəī
'Ram' 'this''matter' 'on''pleased''became' 'that''to him''leave' 'was granted'

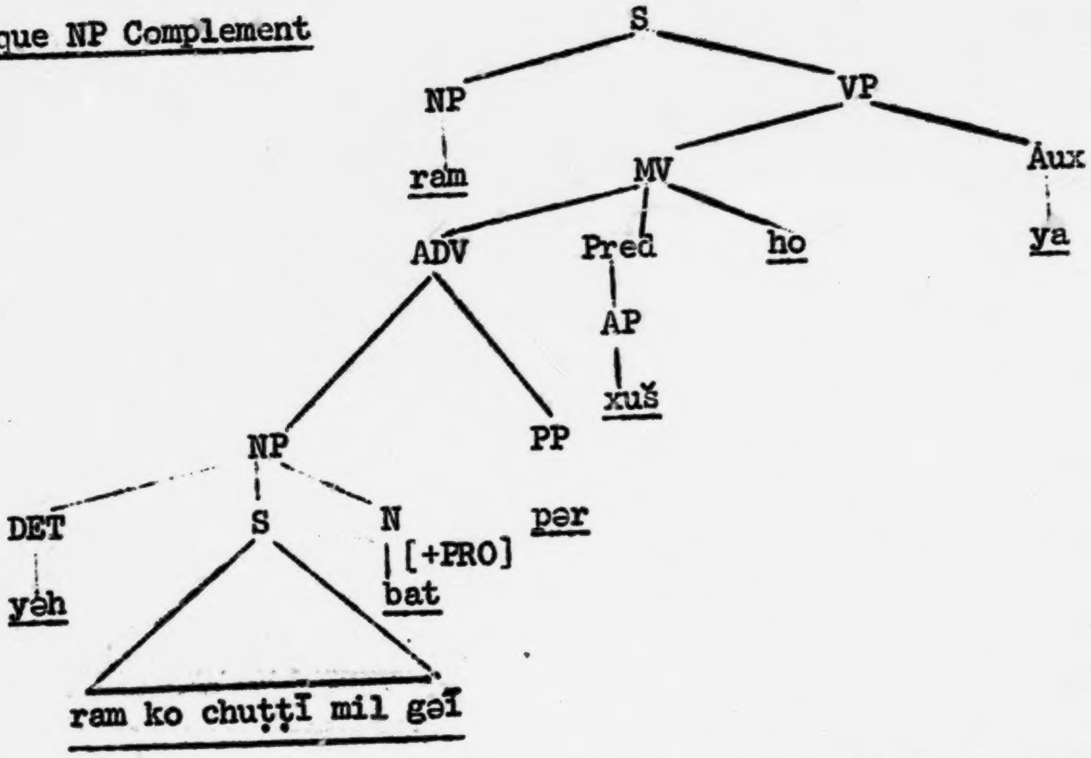
'Ram was pleased (with this) that he got leave.'

The first two are instances of direct and the last two are examples of oblique NP complementation. The underlying structures of these two types are as follows:

Direct NP Complement


S
NP
VP
DET
S
N [+PRO]
MV
Aux
yəh
bat
ya
ram nirdoṣ hɛ
Pred
ho
Opr
siddh
ja

Oblique NP Complement


S
NP
VP
ram
MV
Aux
ADV
Pred
ho
ya
AP
xuš
NP
PP
DET
S
N [+PRO]
pər
yəh
bat
ram ko chuṭṭī mil gəī

Only copula and ko matrix sentences take direct NP complementation in the subject position; the two examples above make this clear. All reason and purpose Adverbials and genitive phrases of the abstract N + ka type can be extended by oblique NP complementation.

We have discussed NP complementation in the Subject and in Adv's so far. The Object NP may also take a sentential complement; e.g., V's such as cillana, kəhna, sunna, pūchna, dekhna, səməjhna, socna, janna, bolna, cahna, pana, pəṛhna, likhna, svīkar kərna ('to shout,''tell,''hear,''ask,''see,''understand,''think,''know,''speak,''want,''find,''read,''write,''accept') take a sentential complement as their object. The following sentences are examples of this:

usne kəha ki vəh ghər ja rəha hɛ

'He said that he was going home.'

mɛ̃ socta hū̃ ki gay ko cara dū̃

'I think I should give some fodder to the cow.'

ram səmədjha ki śyam məzak kər rəha hɛ

'Ram thought that Shyam was joking.'

mɛ̃ janta hū̃ ki tum kəl kəhā̃ the

'I know where you were yesterday.'

mɛ̃ ne paya ki səb so gəye the

'I found that everyone was asleep.'

indira ne svīkar kiya ki usne kitab lī thī

'Indira accepted that she had taken the book.'

Notice that whereas the object N precedes the V in Hindi, the sentential complement of the type ki + S follows the V. Also, the V's of the Matrix and the Embedded S's do not agree in aspect and tense. If the V of the Matrix S is socna 'think' then the Aux of the Embedded S must be in the optative form, i.e., it must be -e:

vəh soc rəha tha ki leṭ rəhe

'He thoutht he might lie down.'

Only the Matrix S's with pūchna, janna, bətana ('ask,''know''tell') can take an S complement that contains a question word, e.g.:

mɛ̃ ne pūcha ki vəh kon hɛ

'I asked who he was.'

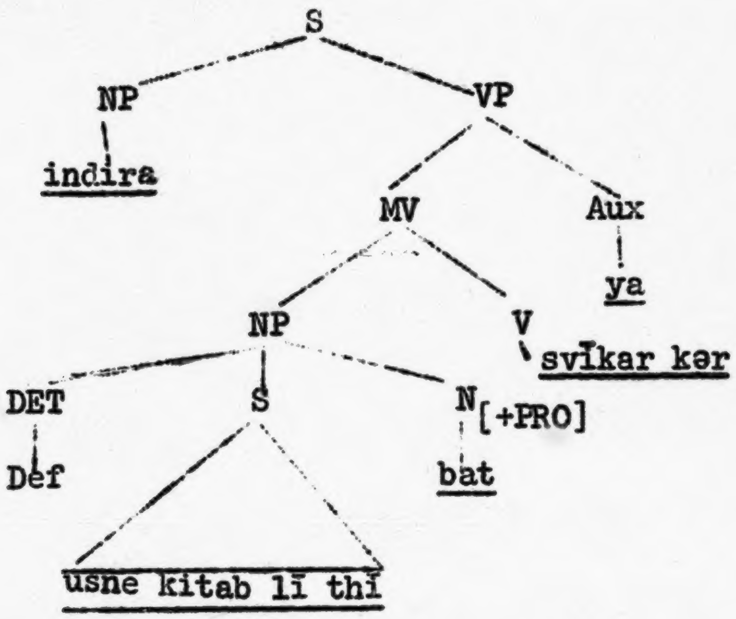
* mɛ̃ ne kəha ki vəh kɔn hɛ

'I said who he was.'

but: mɛ̃ ne bətaya ki vəh kɔn hɛ

'I told who he was.'

The underlying structure of such sentences is:



Indira ne svīkar kiya ki usne kitab lī thī

'Indira agreed that she had taken the book.'

The ki-S complement may be reduced to a nominalized phrase as in the following sentences:

ram ka nirdoṣ hona siddh ho gəya

'Ram's being innocent is proved.'

mujhko uske nəhī̃ rukne ka dukh hɛ

'I am sorry about her not staying.'

indira ne kitab lena svīkar kiya

'Indira accepted taking the book.'

whereas all ki-S's in the subject position can be nominalized, there are severe constraints on the nominalization of sentential complements in the object position. Only certain V's permit such reduction, e.g.:

mɛ̃ ne caha ki ghər cəla jaũ

'I''wanted''that'(I)'should go''home'

'I wanted to go home.'

mɛ̃ ne ghər cəle jana caha

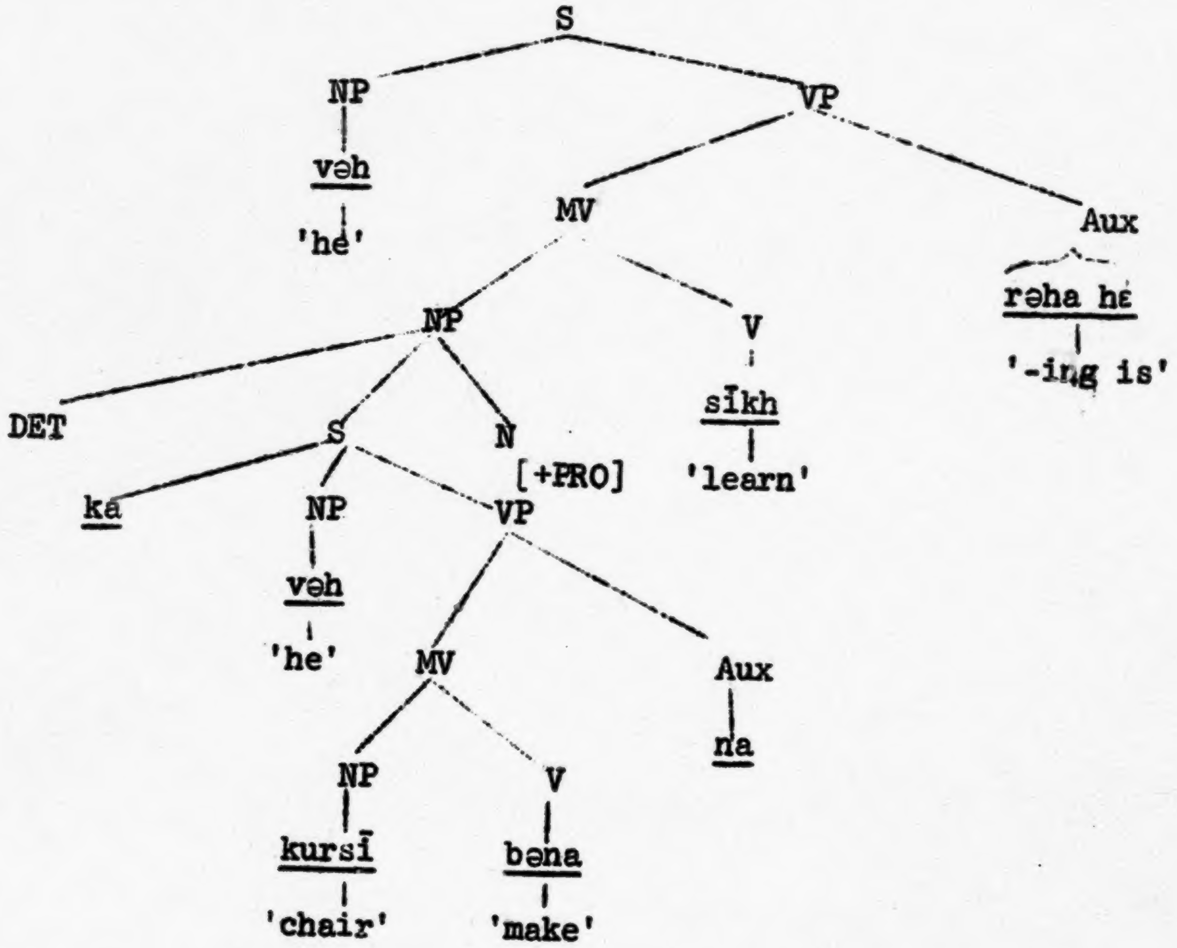
'I wanted to go home.'

mɛ̃ ne səmjha ki ram a rəha hɛ

'I thought Ram was coming.'

* mɛ̃ ne ram ka ana səmjha

Only V's such as sīkhna, cahna, bhūlna, šuru kərna, xətm kərna, kəbūlna, choṛna ('to learn,''want,''forget,''begin,''finish,''accept,''leave') take a nominalized S as their object. The underlying structure of such sentences is:


S
NP
VP
vəh
'he'
MV
Aux
rəha hɛ
'-ing is'
NP
V
sīkh
'learn'
DET
S
N
[+PRO]
ka
NP
VP
vəh
'he'
MV
Aux
na
NP
V
kursī
'chair'
bəna
'make'

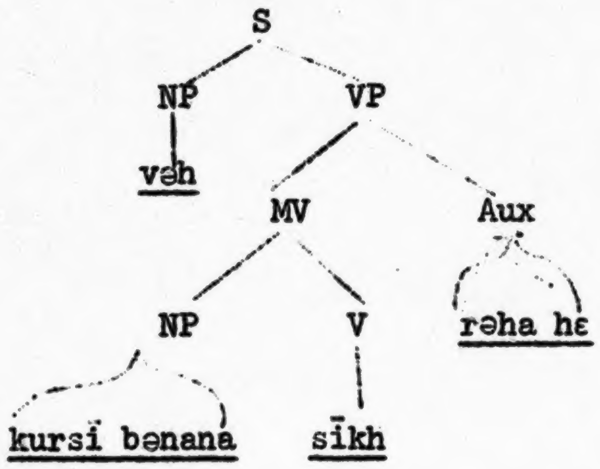
Notice that the embedded S must have a complementizer *ka* and only *na* as its Aux for the nominalizing process to take place. This process is as follows:

(1) Attach *ka* to the Subject N of the embedded S;

(2) Attach N + *ka* to the DET and the rest of the embedded S to the $N_{[+PRO]}$ of the matrix NP which dominates the embedded S.

(3) If the Subject N of the matrix S and the N preceding the *ka* are identical, delete the N and *ka*.

The application of these results in:



Notice that the V's mentioned above (i.e., *sīkhna*, *cahna*, etc.) permit the embedding of S in the object position only if the subject of the matrix and embedded S's are identical.

This identity condition does not apply to V's such as *svīkar kərna* 'accept,' *dekhna* 'see,' *sunna* 'hear,' e.g.:

usne kisanõ ka həl cəlana dekha

'He saw the peasants ploughing.'

The nominalization described above is the source of new nominal expressions such as the ones in the following sentences:

mujhko tɛrna nəhī̃ ata

'to me''swimming''not''come'

'I do not know how to swim.'

ram ka vəhā̃ jana zərūrī hɛ

'Ram of there going''essential''is'

'It is essential for Ram to go there.'

mirc-məsale khana svasthy ke liye əccha nəhī̃

'red pepper''spices''eating''health''for''good''not'

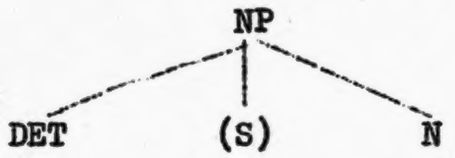
'Eating spices is not good for (one's) health.'

tumko ɔr pərišrəm kərna cahiye

'to you''more''herd work''to do''should'

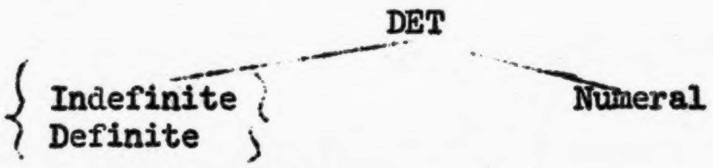
'You should do more hard work'.

4.2 It has already been said that the internal structure of NP is:



That is, NP is made up of a DET element, an optional S element, and an N. We shall now consider the constituent elements of DET.

The internal structure of DEt is as follows:



The Indefinite DET's are koī and ek, e.g.:

koī admī aya tha

'some'man''come''had'

'Somebody had come.'

ek leṛka aya tha

'boy' 'come' 'had'

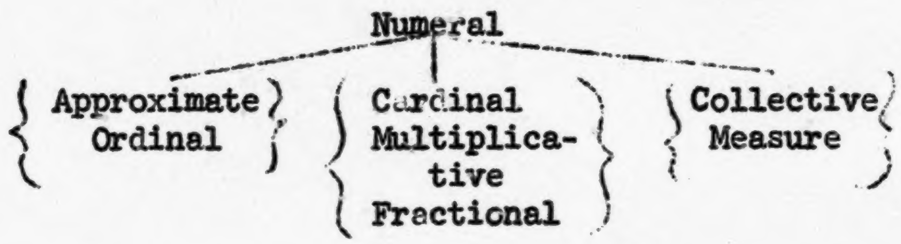
'A boy had come.'

veh $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{koī}\\ \text{ek}\end{array}\right\}$ kitab pəṛh rəha tha

'he' $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{'some'}\\ \text{'a'}\end{array}\right\}$ 'book''reading''was'

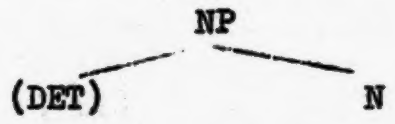
'He was reading $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{some}\\ \text{a}\end{array}\right\}$ book.'

The numeral may be sub-divided into these co-occurring categories:

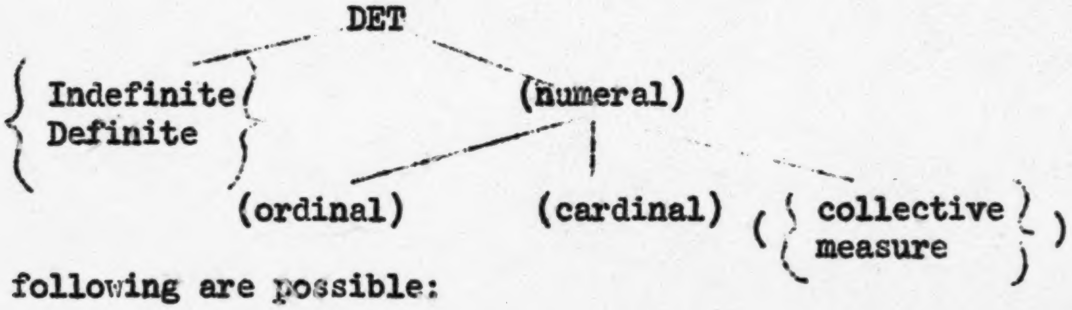


Approximates are elements like kərīb 'almost,' sirf ...to 'only,' ek; ordinals are elements such as pəhla 'first,' dūsra 'second,'etc.; fractionals are adha 'half,'etc ; collectives are joṛa 'pair,' dəržən 'dozen,' etc.; and measure words are kilo 'kilogram,' ser, 'seer' or'two pounds,' pav, 'quarter seer,' etc. The Indefinite DET's and the ordinals do not co-occur; neither do the Multiplicative and $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{Collective}\\ \text{Measure}\end{array}\right\}$.

Notice that the proper N's do not occur with a DET, so the DET constituent is optional, i.e.:



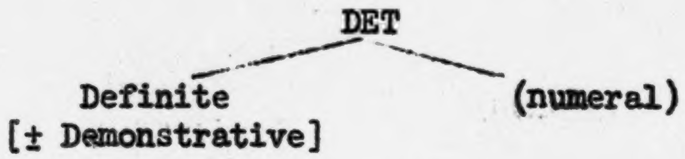
Inside the DET, all the numerals are optional:


DET
Indefinite
Definite
(numeral)
(ordinal)
(cardinal)
collective
measure

This means that the following are possible:

Definite + Ordinal + N	*pəhla ləṛka*	'(the) first boy'
{Indefinite / Definite} + Cardinal + N	*koī do ləṛke* *ye do ləṛke*	'some two boys' 'these two boys'
Definite + Ordinal + Cardinal + N	*ve əntim do ləṛke*	'those last two boys'
{Indefinite / Definite + Ordinal} + Cardinal + {Collective / Measure}	*koī do dərzən kele* *ye do joṛe moze* *koī do pyala dūdh* *ye car kilo cīnī*	'some two dozen bananas' 'these two pairs of socks' 'some two cups of milk' 'these four kilos of sugar'

In a definite NP, the cardinals may be followed by an aggregative element which yields forms such as *donõ* 'both,' *carõ* 'all the four,' etc. The Definite DET may further be specified for a proximate or remote demonstrative, i.e.:


DET
Definite
[± Demonstrative]
(numeral)

The [-Demonstrative] Definite DET has no phonological shape. It, however, leaves its effect on other constituents of the DET. For example, compare the following two sentences:

merī bəhən ke do ləṛke aye

'my''sister's''two''sons''came'

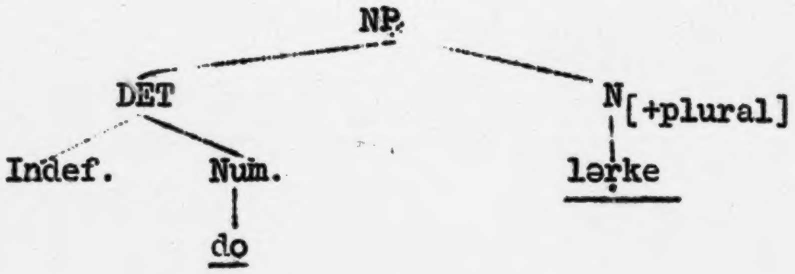
'Two sons of my sister came.

merī bəhən ke donõ ləṛke aye

'my''sister's''both''sons''came'

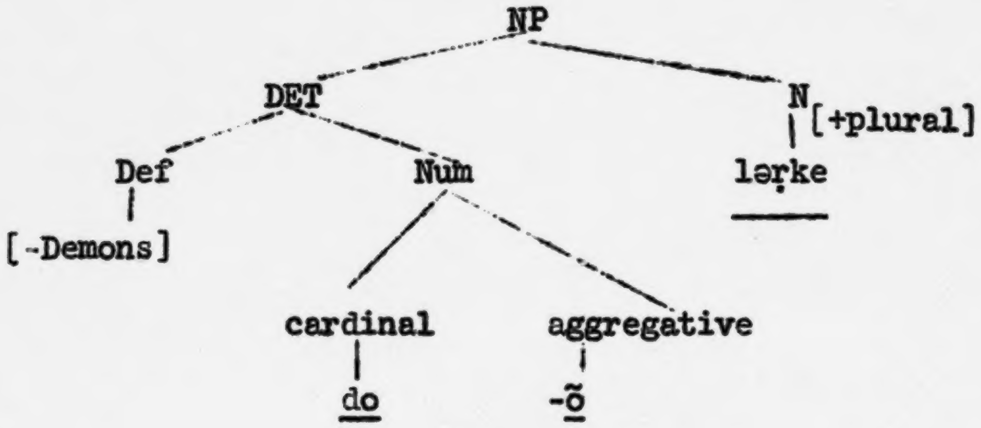
'Both (the) sons of my sister came'.

That is to say, the first sentence means she has more than two sons whereas the second one means she has only two sons, and both came. The structure of do/donõ ləṛke is as follows:


NP
DET
N[+plural]
Indef.
Num.
do
ləṛke

do ləṛke

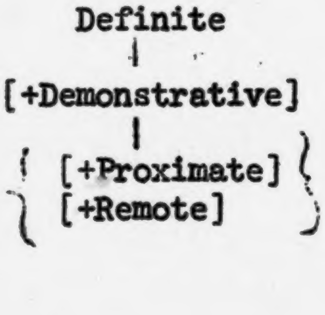
'two sons'


NP
DET
N[+plural]
Def
Num
ləṛke
[-Demons]
cardinal
aggregative
do
-õ

donõ ləṛke

'both boys'

The [+Demonstrative] may further be specified for proximity or remoteness, i.e.:


Definite
[+Demonstrative]
[+Proximate]
[+Remote]

The proximate demonstratives are *yəh* 'this,' *ye* 'these,' and the remote demonstratvies are *vəh* 'that,' *ve* 'those.'

The NP itself may contain a question element, i.e.:

kɔn sa ləṛka	'which boy'
kitna dūdh	'how much milk'
kitnī kitabẽ	'how many books'

So the DET may have another constituent, i.e.:

DET

(K) $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{Definite}\\\text{Indefinite}\end{Bmatrix}$ (Numeral)

The *K* element here translates the question element WH in English words such as 'who,''what,''which,'etc.[3] In Hindi, the combination of *K* with other elements of NP yields forms such as *kɔn* 'who,' *kitna* 'how many' or 'how much,' etc., i.e.:

$\underline{K}\ \ N\begin{bmatrix}+\text{PRO}\\+\text{Person}\end{bmatrix}$ *kɔn* 'who'

$\underline{K}\ \ N\begin{bmatrix}+\text{PRO}\\+\text{Thing}\end{bmatrix}$ *kya* 'what'

$\underline{K}\ \ \text{Definite}\ \ N\begin{bmatrix}+\text{PRO}\\\begin{Bmatrix}+\text{Person}\\+\text{Thing}\end{Bmatrix}\end{bmatrix}$ *kɔn-sa* 'which one'

$\underline{K}\ \ \text{Definite}\begin{Bmatrix}\text{cardinal}\\\text{measure}\end{Bmatrix}$ *kitna* $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{'how many'}\\\text{'how much'}\end{Bmatrix}$

The DET may contain Limiter expressions such as:

mɛ̃ne sirf do pətr hī likhe

'I''only''two''letters''wrote'

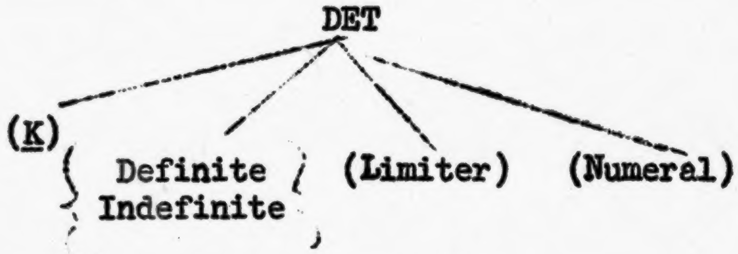
'I wrote two letters only.'

mere bhaī bhī a rəhe hẽ

'my''brother''too''coming''is'

'My brother also is coming.'

So, the DET could be expanded as:


DET
(K)
Definite
Indefinite
(Limiter)
(Numeral)

The following are some of the limiters in Hindi:

(sirf)...hī

(bəs)...hī

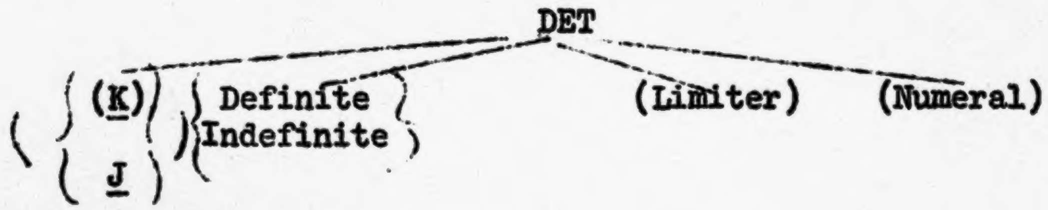
(iske əlava)...bhī

(yəhā̃ tək ki)...bhī

(khas kər)...to

(kəm se kəm)...to

There are constraints between the Indefinite and Definite DET's and the relative clause, so we may set up the constituent structure of DET as:


DET
(K)
J
Definite
Indefinite
(Limiter)
(Numeral)

4.3. There are various restrictions as to which N's can occur with which V's, A's, or DET's, etc. For example, the following are sentences of Hindi:

kutta doṛa

'dog''ran'

panī bərsa

'water''rained'

bijlī cəməktī hɛ

'lightning''flashes'

But, the following are not:

* kutta bərsa

'dog''rained'

* bijlī soī

'lightning''slept'

Neither are the following:

* vəh do məkkhen laya

'he''two''butter''brought'

* ek cəmməc kitab dena

'one''spoonful''book''give'

But, the following are acepptable:

vəh do kilo məkkhən laya

'he''two''kilos''butter''brought'

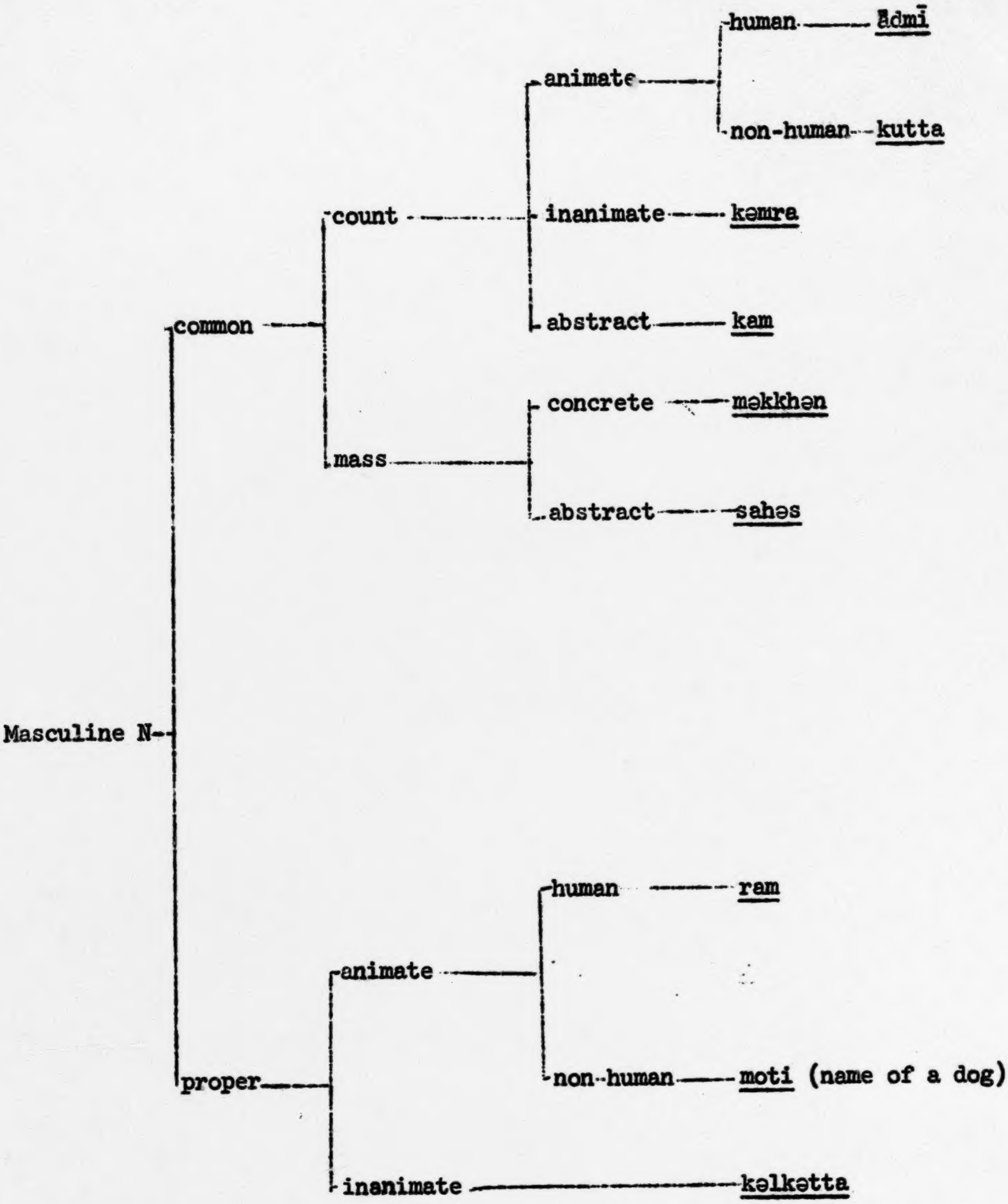
'He brought two kilos of butter.'

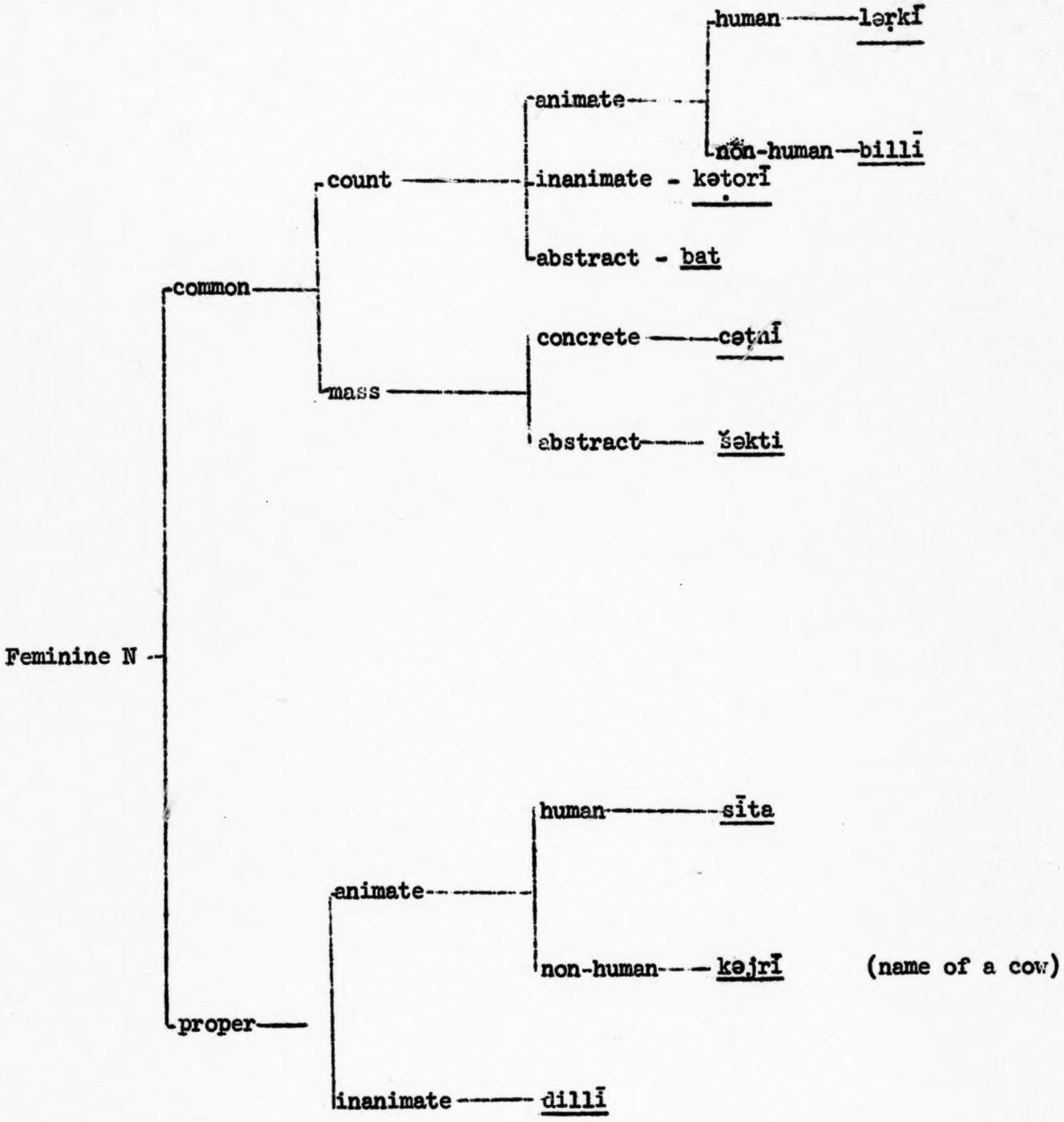
ek cəmməc tel dena

'one''spoonful''oil''give'

'Give one spoonful of oil.'

The N's have features of animateness, countability, etc. which determine their co-cccurrence with V's, A's, etc.[4] This applies to all languages with minor variations. In Hindi, it is important to distinguish the following classes of N's, as is shown in the diagram:


Masculine N
common
count
animate
human
ādmī
non-human
kutta
inanimate
kəmra
abstract
kam
mass
concrete
məkkhən
abstract
sahəs
proper
animate
human
ram
non-human
moti (name of a dog)
inanimate
kəlkətta


Feminine N
common
count
animate
human
ləṛkī
non-human
billī
inanimate - kəṭorī
abstract - bat
mass
concrete
cəṭnī
abstract
šəkti
proper
animate
human
sīta
non-human
kəjrī
(name of a cow)
inanimate
dillī

All the count nouns, e.g. ādmī, kutta, ləṛkī, billī, kəmra, kam, kitab, bat, are inflected for number; that is, they have a singular and a plural form, but the mass nouns are not inflected for number, that is, they have no plural forms.

These distinctions of countability, animateness, humanness, abstractness, etc., are necessary to specify the coocurrence restrictions between DET and N on the one hand, and N's and Adj's and V's on the other. For example, the following are sentences of Hindi:

do $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{ādmī}\\ \text{kutte}\end{matrix}\right\}$ aye

'Two $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{men}\\ \text{dogs}\end{matrix}\right\}$ came'

usne do kam kiye

'he''two''jobs''did'

'He did two jobs.'

do kəmre bəne hɛ̃

'two''rooms''made''are'

'Two rooms are made.'

but the following are not:

* do cəṭnī lao

'two''chutney''bring'

'Bring two chutneys.'

* usmẽ do šəkti nəhī̃ hɛ

'in him''two''strength''not''is'

'He does not have two strengths'

although the following are:

kuch cəṭnī lao

'some''chutney''bring'

'Bring some chutney.'

usmẽ kuch šəkti nəhī̃ hɛ

'in him''some''strength''not''is'

'He has no strength in him.'

Similarly, the following are sentences of Hindi:

ləṛkī hə̃sī

'The girl laughed.'

ciṛiya ne pənkh phɛlae

'the''bird''wings''spread'

'The bird spread its wings.'

kitab pəṛhne layək hɛ

'book''reading''worth''is'

'The book is worth reading.'

mɛ̃ ne yəh bat sunī thī

'I''this''talk''heard''had'

'I had heard this talk.'

But, the following are not:

* *mɛ̃ ne yəh ciṛiya sunī thī*

'I''this''bird''had''heard'

* *bat pəṛhne layək hɛ*

'talk''reading''worth''is'

* *ləṛkī ne pənkh phɛlae*

'the''girl''wings''spread'

* kitab həs̃ī

'the''book''laughed'

4.3.1. All animate Hindi Nouns, which are inherently either masculine or feminine, are inflected for the opposite gender, e.g.:

ləṛka	ləṛkī
nɔkər	nɔkranī
kutta	kutiya
siyar	siyarin

inherently feminine to masculine:

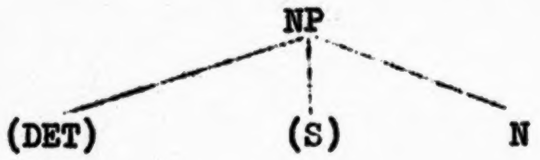
bhẽs	bhẽsa
bheṛ	bheṛa
nənəd	nəndoī

The N's are also inflected for number and case. There are two numbers: singular and plural, and two cases: direct and oblique. A noun has to be in the oblique case if it is followed by a postposition.

ləṛka	ləṛke (ko)
'boy'	'boy''(to)'
	'to the boy'

4.4. Pronouns ?

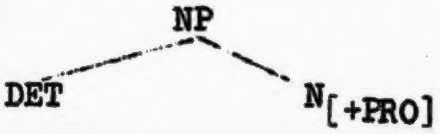
The structure of the NP has been diagrammed as follows:



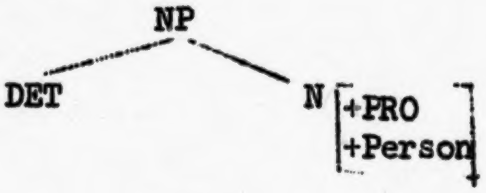
Now, the question arises: how are the Pronouns to be represented in such a diagram? What is the structure of Pronouns?

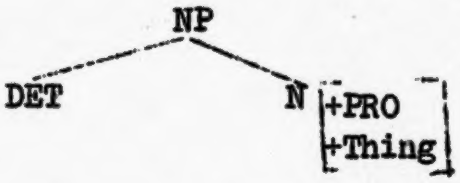
It has already been pointed out that the N has to be marked [+PRO] or [-PRO] to account for some important structures in Hindi. (cf. Section 2.0). We have so far talked only about abstract [_PRO] N's (cf. Section 4.3). The same feature, [+PRO] is useful in characterizing the personal and other Pronouns also.

To derive pronominal forms from a NP such as:

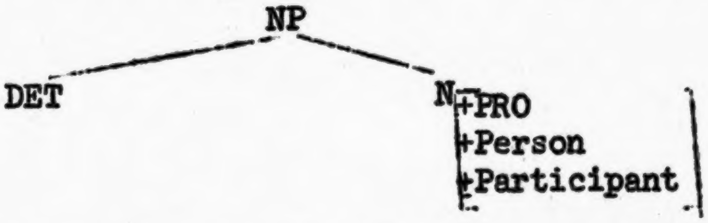


the N has to be assigned some more features. For instance, it has to be marked either for a person or a thing, e.g.:

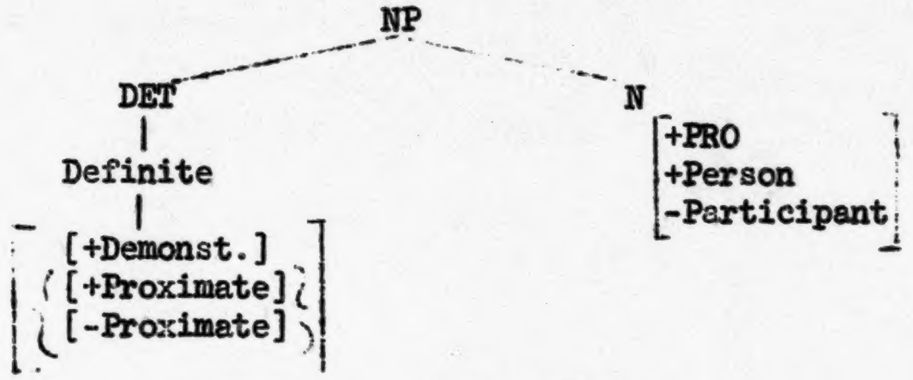




The N$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{PRO}\\+\text{Thing}\end{bmatrix}$ together with the Definite DET yields the Demonstrative Pronouns (see below). If the N$_{[+\text{PRO}]}$ is marked for person, it could further be marked [+Participant] or [-Participant], e.g.:

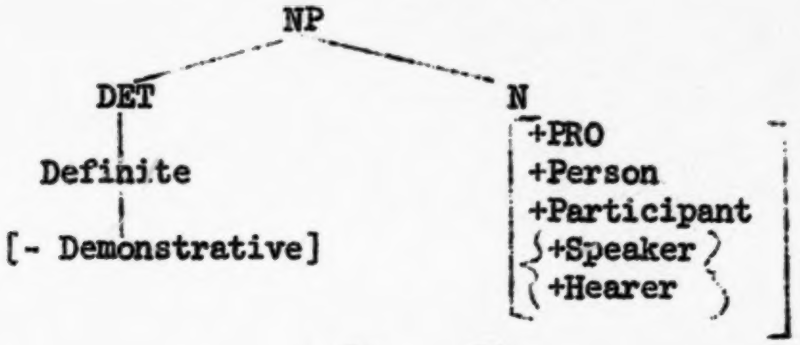


[+Participant] together with the Definite DET yields the first and second person pronouns, and [-participant], the third person pronouns, e.g.:


NP
DET
N
Definite
[+Demonst.]
[+Proximate]
[-Proximate]
+PRO
+Person
-Participant

	Sg.	Plu.
$[+\text{Proximate}, \left\{\begin{matrix}-\text{Participant}\\ +\text{Thing}\end{matrix}\right\}] =$	yəh	ye
$[-\text{Proximate}, \left\{\begin{matrix}-\text{Participant}\\ +\text{Thing}\end{matrix}\right\}] =$	vəh	ve

The [+ Participant] is further marked for [+ Speaker] or [+ Hearer], e.g.:

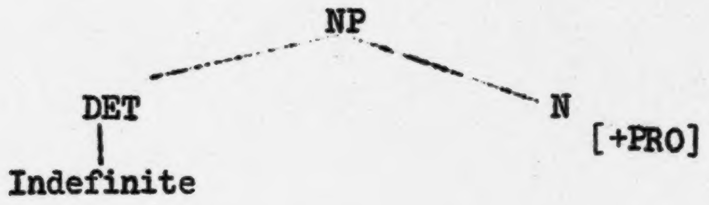

NP
DET
N
Definite
[- Demonstrative]
+PRO
+Person
+Participant
+Speaker
+Hearer

	Sg.	Plu.	
[- Demonstrative, + Speaker] =	mẽ	həm	'I,''we'
[- Demonstrative, + Hearer] =	tū	tum	'thou,''you'

[+ Hearer] and [-Participant] are also marked for the feature [Honorific]. All the above forms are [-Honorific]. The [+Honorific] forms are as follows:

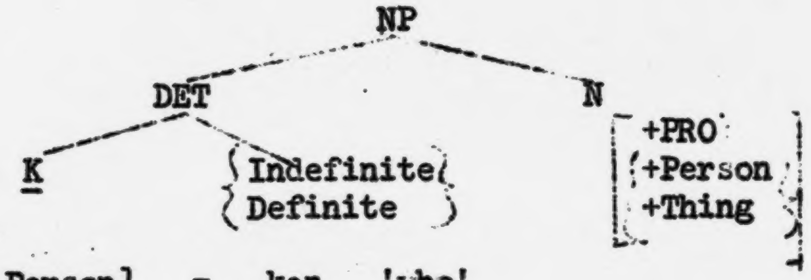
	Sg. and Plu.
[+ Proximate, - Participant, + Honorific] =	ye
[- Proximate, - Participant, + Honorific] =	ve
[- Demonstrative, - Speaker, + Honorific] =	ap

Similarly, other pronominal forms may be characterized as follows:



Indefinite [+Person] = koĩ 'someone'

Indefinite [+Thing] = kuch 'something'



K̄ Indefinite [+ Person] = kɔn 'who'

K Indefinite [+ Thing] = kya 'want'

K Definite $\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{Person} \\ +\ \text{Thing} \end{bmatrix}$ = kɔn - sa 'which one'

The forms yəhã 'here,' vəhã 'there,' idhər 'in this direction,' udhər 'in that direction,' əb 'now,' təb 'then,' etc. also have similar structure; that is, they are made up of Demonstrative + $N_{[+PRO]}$, and the $N_{[+PRO]}$ is further marked for location, direction, time, etc.

4.4.1. Before we end the discussion on Pronouns, a word must be said about the honorific/ non-honorific distinction. The honorific/ non-honorific distinction applies only to human N's, for obvious reasons. The second person singular tū is used only for younger members of the family, very intimate friends and servants, etc. Actually, its use is very infrequent, just as the Pronouns 'thou' and 'thee' are very seldom used in English, and it always carries overtones of affection, disrespect, or some such attitude of the speaker. tum is the form used for addressing one's friends, younger generation, and intimate people. ap is reserved for older members of the family, acquaintances, strangers, and people who deserve one's respect, i.e., teachers, superiors, etc.

Notes and References

1. For detailed discussions of the relative clause in English, see the following: S.-Y. Kuroda, 'A Note on English Relativization,' MIT, unpublished; Robert B. Lees, The Grammar of English Nominalizations, IJAL Publication 12, July, 1960; Carlotta S. Smith, 'Determiners and Relative Clauses in a Generative Grammar of English,' Language 40, 1964.

2. No systematic work has so far been done on the possessive-genetive expressions of any language. For passing references to such expressions see: Manfred Bierwisch, 'Einer Hierarchie Syntaktisch-Semantischer Merkmale,' in Studia Grammatica V, 1966; Mary Bremer, 'The English Verb 'Have',' unpublished, University of Illinois, 1966; Ronald Langacker, A Transformational Sketch of French Syntax, unpublished dissertation, University of Illinois, 1966; Robert B. Lees, The Grammar of English Nominalizations, IJAL Publication 12, July, 1960; Wolfgang Motsch, 'Syntax des deutschen Adjektivs,' in Studia Grammatica, III, 1965. The problems regarding these in Hindi have been discussed in Yamuna Kachru's 'On Possessives in Hindi' (forthcoming).

3. Note that whereas the WH element in English functions both as the relative marker and the question word marker, in Hindi these are separate, J being the relative marker and K being the question word marker. See the following work for a detailed comparison of the relative clauses in English and Hindi: Manindra K. Varma, A Synchronic Comparative Study of the Structure of Noun Phrases in English and Hindi, unpublished, Ph. D. dissertation, The University of Michigan,

Ann Arbor, 1966. The above also discusses the relationship between the Definite DET and the relative clause in Hindi.

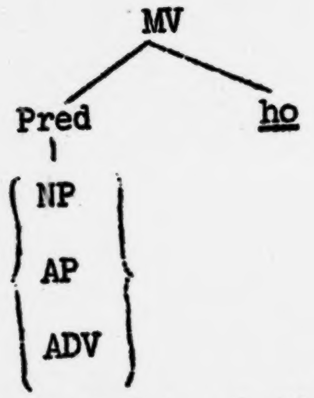
4. For the status of syntactic and semantic features such as animateness, etc., see the discussion in the following work: James D. McCawley, Concerning the Base Component of a Transformational Grammar (mimeographed), University of Chicago.

5. For a very interesting suggestion, namely that the Pronouns really are DET's, see the following: Paul M. Postal: 'On So-called 'Pronouns' in English,' (to appear in F. Dinean, editor, Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No. 19, Georgetown University, Institute of Languages and Linguistics, Washington, D.C).

ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

5.0. ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

In an earlier section (cf. 3.2.) we gave one of the expansions of MV as:



Adjectives are the main constituents of Adjective Phrase. Besides occurring as a Predicate complement to the verb ho 'be', Adverbs occur elsewhere also. For instance:

ram tez dɔṛa

'Ram''fast''ran'

'Ram ran fast.'

vəh cupke se uṭha

'He''silently''got''up'

'He got up silently.'

chatr bhaṣəṇ dhyan se sun rəhe the

'Students''lecture'attentively''listen-ing''were'

'The students were listening to the lecture attentively.'

That is, most Verbs can be modified by Adverbs, just as most Nouns can be modified by Adjectives. So, we can add to the diagram expanding MV (cf. sub-section 3.3.2.) one more constituent in the following manner:

$$\begin{array}{c} MV \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} & \text{Pred} + \underline{\text{ho}} \\ \text{ADV} & \left\{ \begin{array}{r} V_i\ [+\ \underline{\text{ne}}] \\ NP + V_t\ [\pm\ \underline{\text{ne}}] \\ \text{Dative} + NP + V_{dt}\ [+\ \underline{\text{ne}}] \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right\} \end{array}$$

The relationship of Adverbs to Verbs will be discussed after we have discussed the various types of Adverbs in Hindi (cf. 5.2.). First, however, we shall discuss the Adjectives, and some of the discussion will be relevant for Adverbs also.

5.1. When we talk about Adjectives, it is useful to remember the distinction between base and derived Adjectives. The base Adjectives contain no derivational affixes, that is, they are not derivationally related to any other grammatical category such as Noun or Verb. The following are base Adjectives:

kitab bharī hɛ

'The book is heavy.'

məkan bəṛa hɛ

'The house is big'

ram ka ləṛka tez hɛ

'Ram's son is bright.'

But, the following are derived from some other grammatical category:

usne sote hue bəcce ko jəga diya

'He woke up the sleeping child.'

nav cəlanevala admī mera pəṛosī hɛ

'The man rowing the boat is my neighbor.'

panvala ramū aj nəhī̃ aya

'The betel seller Ramu didn't come today.'

That is, the Adjective Phrases in the above sentences are related to Verb Phrases such as the following:

bəcca so rəha hɛ → sota hua bəcca

admī nav cəla rəha hɛ → nav cəlane vala admī

ramū pan becta hɛ → pan becne vala ramū → pana vala ramū

Such derived adjectives will be discussed later in this section.

There are other types of derived modifiers, too. For instance:

həm jəhā̃ gəye the vəh jəgəh bəṛī khūbsūrət thī

'The place where we went was very beautiful.'

tum jo kitab pəṛh rəhe ho vəh jɛnendr kī likhī huī hɛ

'The book that you are reading is written by Jainendra.'

These have already been discussed under Relative Clause (cf.4.1.1.)

Certain base Adjectives behave differently from other base Adjectives in more complex structures:

Most attributive Adjectives can precede a Noun in the Noun Phrase, e.g.

pensil nīlī hɛ → nīlī pensil

(The)pencil is blue → (The) blue pencil

ghoṛa təgṛa hɛ → təgṛa ghoṛa

(The)horse is strong → (The) strong horse

ləṛka əccha hɛ → əccha ləṛka

(The)boy is good → (The) good boy

malī alsī hɛ → alsī malī

(The) gardener is lazy → (The) lazy gardener

But, there are some Adjectives that cannot precede a Noun by themselves, they have to be preceded by the adverbial element in the AP:

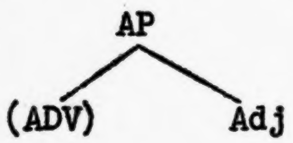
ləṛka mujhse səhmət hɛ → * səhmət ləṛka

(The) boy is of the same opinion as I mujhse səhmət ləṛka

mã khoye bəcce ko pa kər nihal hɛ → *nihal mã

Mother is satisfied having found the lost child khoye bəcce ko pa kər nihal mã

So, we could say, the AP is made up of an adverbial element which is optional, and an adjective, i.e.

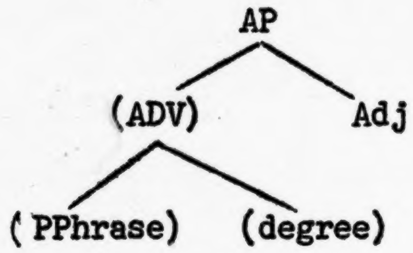


The adverbial element is of two types (1) it is a degreee adverbial (e.g. bəhut 'very', bilkul 'absolutely', etc. (2) it is a postpositional phrase, e.g.,

vəh uske acərəṇ se xuš hɛ

'He is pleased with his behavior.'

So, the Adverb may be developed further as follows:



as both PPhrase and Degree can occur together.

vəh uske acərəṇ se buhut xuš hɛ

'He is very pleased with his behavior.'

The Adjectives that occur either with Degree or with a PPhrase, or both, can also occur with a sentential complement.

mɛ̃ (is bat se) xuš hū̃ ki ap a gəye

'I''this''fact''with''pleased''am''that''you''came'

'I am glad that you came.'

vəh kam kərne ko utsuk hɛ

'He''job''do' 'to' 'eager' 'is'

'He is eager to work.'

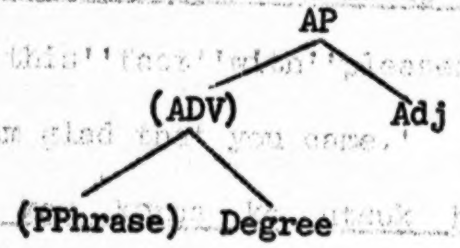
vəh itna tez hɛ ki koī uskī bərabərī nəhī̃ kər səkta

'He''so''bright''is''that''anyone''his''matching' 'not''do''can'

'He is so bright that no one can match him.'

In the next section we shall discuss various types of complex Adjectival expressions which have not been discussed under relative clauses. We shall first consider the comparative and superlative constructions [1] and then go on to discuss the various types of derived Adjectival Phrases.

5.1.1. We have already said that the structure of AP was as follows:



To determine what the constituents of degree are, consider the following sentences:

ləṛka bəhut calak hɛ

'boy''very''clever''is'

'The boy is very clever.'

ləṛkī itnī bīmar hɛ ki hil bhī nəhī̃ səktī

'Girl''so''ill''is''that''move''even''not''can''

'The girl is so ill she cannot even move.'

šyam ram se bəhut ləmba hɛ

'Shyam''Ram''than''very''tall''is'

'Shyam is much taller than Ram.'

mera bhaī tum jɛsa alsī nəhī̃ hɛ

'My''brother''you''like''lazy''not''is'

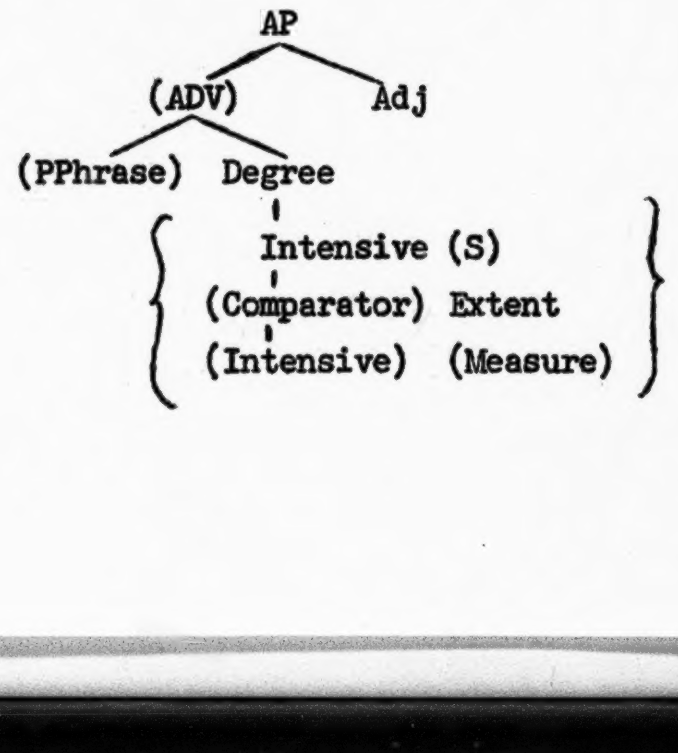
'My brother is not as lazy as you are.'

yəh cakū jitnī tez hɛ utnī hī tez yəh kɛ̃cī bhī hɛ

'This''knife''as''sharp''is''so''just''sharp''this''scissors' also''is'

'This pair of scissors is just as sharp as this knife is.'

The expressions bəhut, itna ...ki S, ram se bəhut tum jɛsa, and yəh cakū jitnī tez hɛ utnī hī in the above sentences specify the degree or extent to which the boy is clever, the girl ill, Shyam tall, the brother is not lazy and the scissors are sharp. So we can say the Degree constituent has to be expanded as follows:



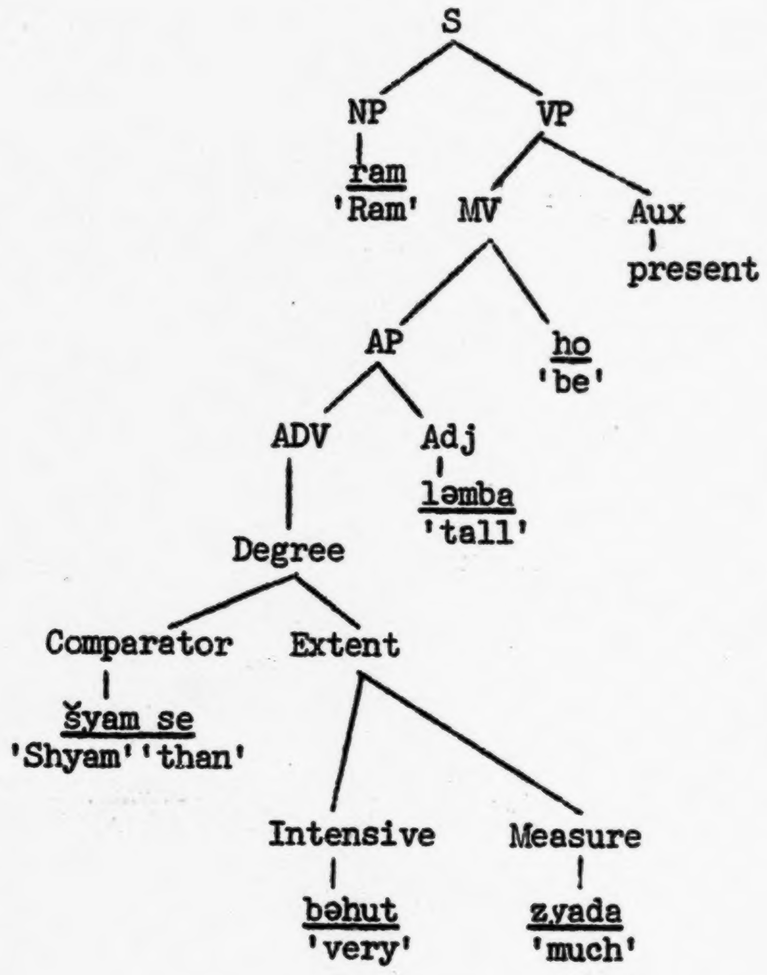
A sentence such as the following can be analyzed as the diagram below indicates:

ram šyam se bəhut zyada ləmba hɛ

''Ram''Shyam''than''very''much''tall''is'

'Ram is very much taller than Shyam.'

Surface Structure


S
NP
VP
ram
'Ram'
MV
Aux
present
AP
ho
'be'
ADV
Adj
ləmba
'tall'
Degree
Comparator
Extent
šyam se
'Shyam''than'
Intensive
Measure
bəhut
'very'
zyada
'much'

Now the question arises; what is the comparator element? Is it simply N + se, or NP + se, or is it a S? There are good reasons to say that the comparator element is a S. Notice that the sentence *ram šyam se zyada ləmba hɛ* is 'understood' in terms of the following two sentneces:

šyam (kisi həd tək) ləmba hɛ

'Shyam'(some extent to)'tall'is'

'Shyam is tall (to some extent).

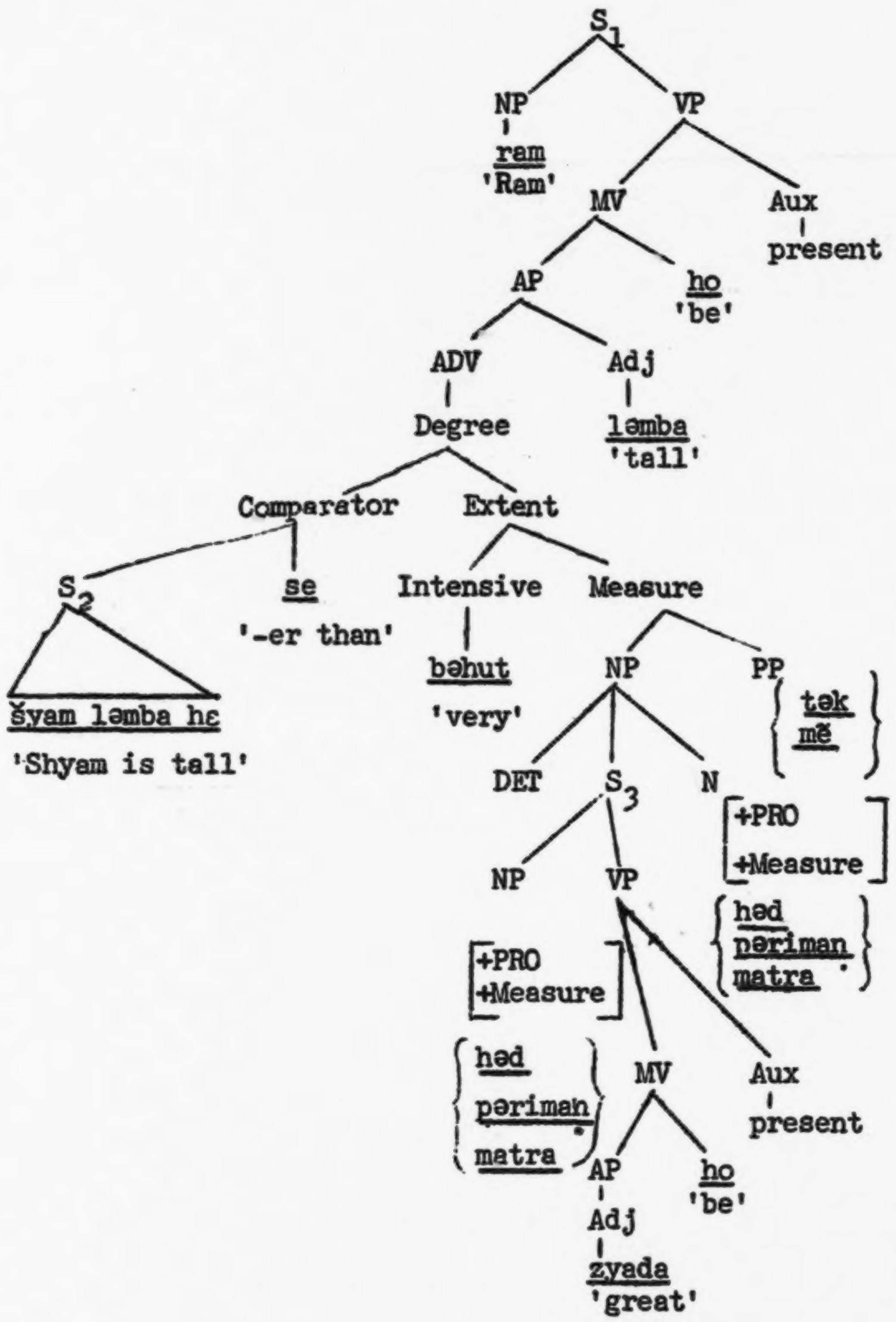
ram usse zyada həd tək ləmba hɛ

'Ram''that''than''greater' 'extent''tall''is'

'Ram is tall to a greater extent than that.'

The underlying or deep structure of the comparative sentence is then as follows:

Deep Structure


S_1
NP
ram
'Ram'
VP
MV
Aux
present
AP
ho
'be'
ADV
Adj
Degree
ləmba
'tall'
Comparator
Extent
S_2
se
'-er than'
Intensive
Measure
šyam ləmba hɛ
'Shyam is tall'
bəhut
'very'
NP
PP
tək
mẽ
DET
S_3
N
+PRO
+Measure
NP
VP
həd
pəriman
matra
+PRO
+Measure
həd
pəriman
matra
MV
Aux
present
AP
ho
'be'
Adj
zyada
'great'

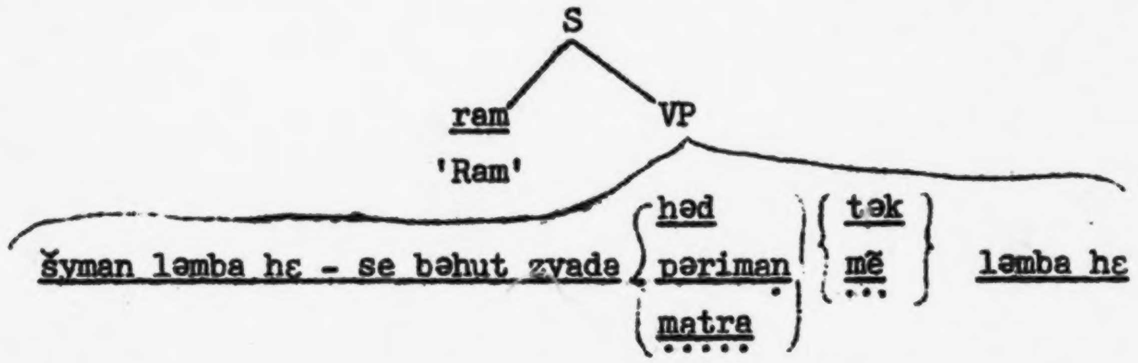
In the above diagram, the $N_{\left[\begin{smallmatrix}+\text{ PRO}\\+\text{ Measure}\end{smallmatrix}\right]}$ has been replaced by words such as həd, pəriman, matra. Of course, it is not claimed that these items actually occur in the deep structure of the comparative sentence; the claim is that some such $N_{[+\text{PRO}]}$ which means 'extent' or 'measure' must be present in the deep structure. If, however, the surface structure contains such expressions, then these may be followed by postpositions such as tək 'to', mẽ 'in', etc. e.g.,

ram šyam se kuch $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{pəriman}\\ \text{matra}\end{matrix}\right\}$ mẽ zyada buddhiman hɛ

Ram Shyam than some extent in more intelligent is

'Ram is more intelligent than Shyam to a certain extent.'

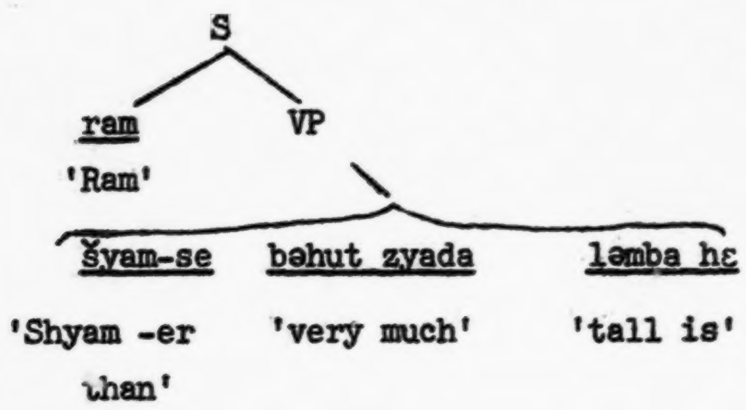
The process of comparison involves the following steps. First, the S_3 (embedded in the measure expression) is relativized and reduced to Adj + N expression which, if applied to the above diagram, results in:


S
ram
'Ram'
VP
šyman ləmba hɛ - se bəhut zyada
həd
pəriman
matra
tək
mẽ
ləmba hɛ

'Shyam is tall-er than very great extent to tall is

'Ram is taller to a very great extent than Shyam is tall.'

Subsequently, the $N_{[+\text{PRO}]}$ is deleted. The next step of comparison affects the S_2 (embedded in comparator). Those elements of the embedded S which are identical to elements in the matrix S, are deleted, which further simplifies the above diagram to:



Notice that the S embedded in the comparator must contain an Adj which is identical to the Adj of the matrix S. Also, the embedded S must not contain any specific Measure expression. If the matrix S contains a specified measure expression, we get sentences such as:

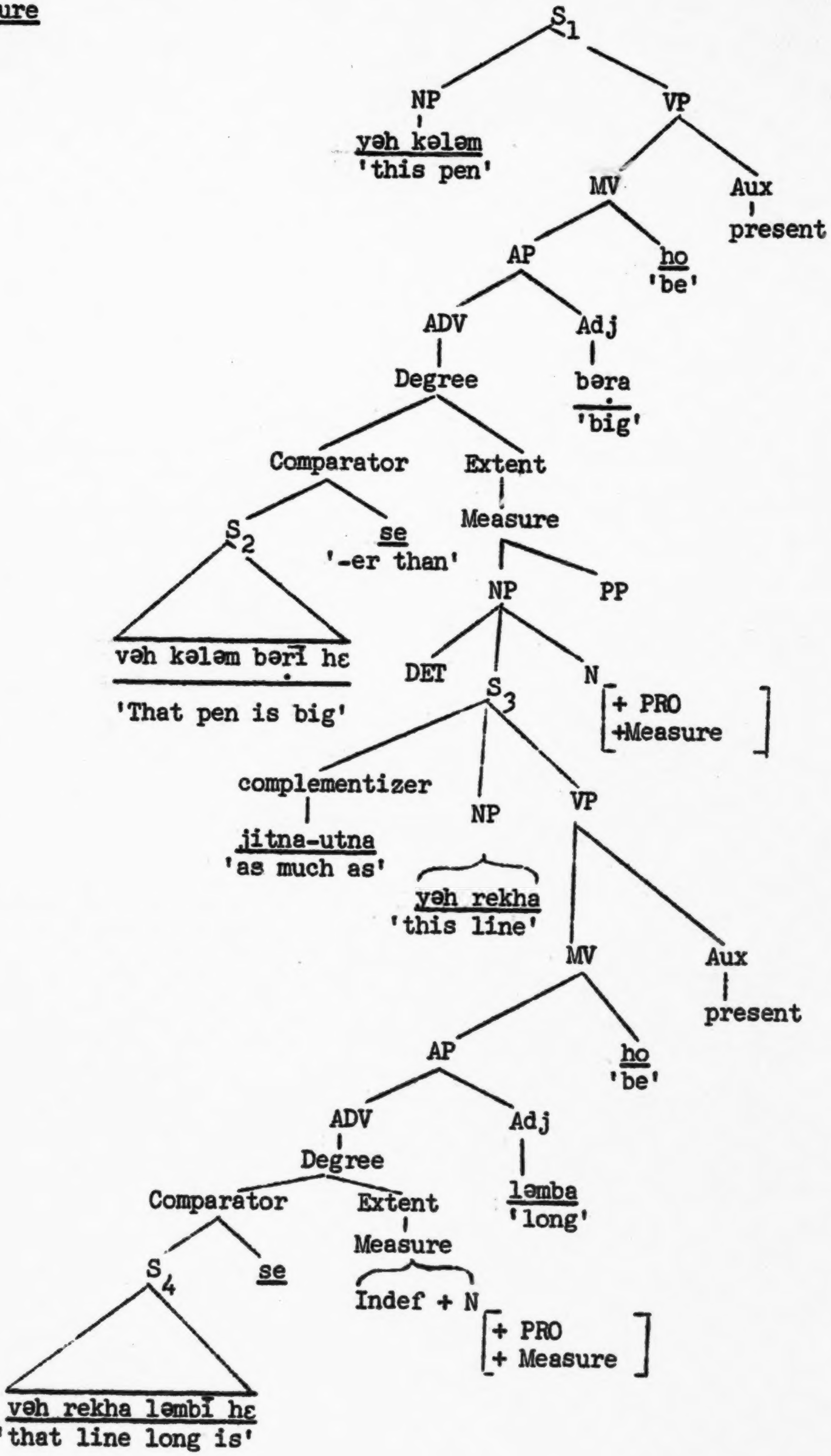
ram šyam se do inc ləmba hɛ
'Ram''Shyam''than''two''inches''tall''is'
'Ram is taller than Shyam by two inches.'

let us now consider a more complex sentence such as:

yəh kələm us kələm se utnī bəṛī hɛ jitnī yəh
'this''pen''that''pen''than''so''big''is''as''this'
rekha us rekha se ləmbī hɛ
'line''that''line''than''long''is'
'This pen is bigger than that pen by as much as this
line is longer than that line.'

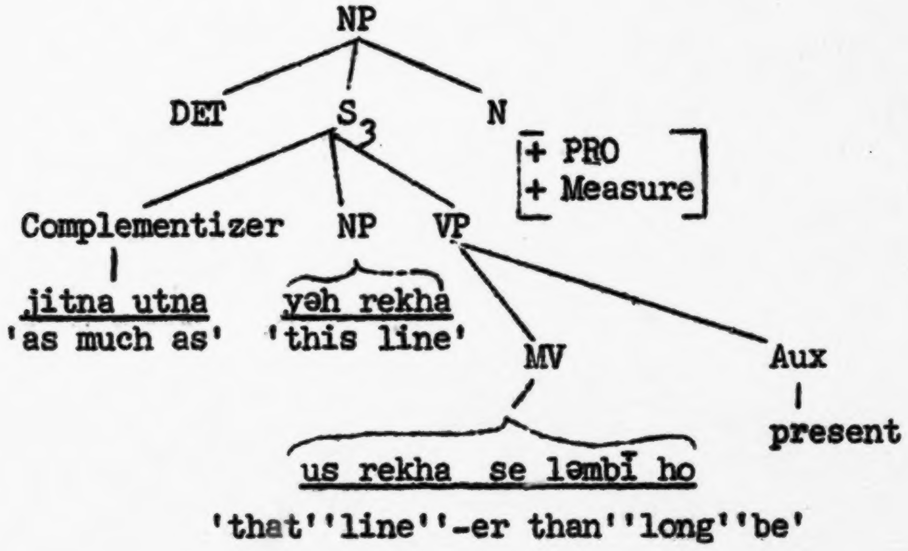
The *underlying* or *deep* structure of such a sentence is:

Deep Structure

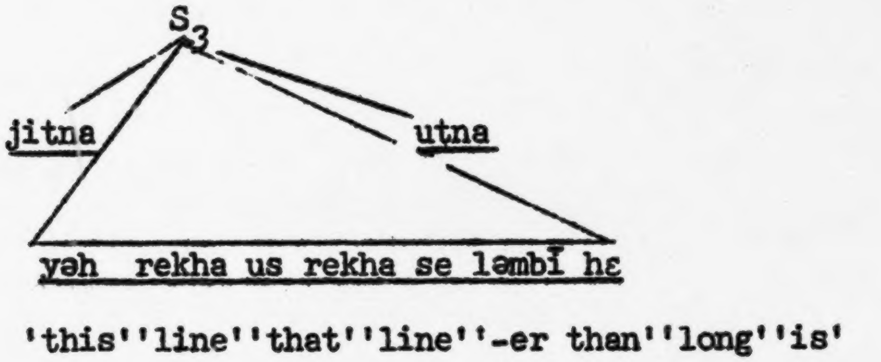

S1
NP
yəh kələm
'this pen'
VP
MV
Aux
present
AP
ho
'be'
ADV
Adj
Degree
bəṛa
'big'
Comparator
Extent
S2
se
'-er than'
Measure
NP
PP
vəh kələm bəṛī hɛ
'That pen is big'
DET
S3
N
+ PRO
+Measure
complementizer
jitna-utna
'as much as'
NP
yəh rekha
'this line'
VP
MV
Aux
present
AP
ho
'be'
ADV
Adj
Degree
ləmba
'long'
Comparator
Extent
Measure
S4
se
Indef + N
+ PRO
+ Measure
vəh rekha ləmbī hɛ
'that line long is'

The process of comparison involves the following steps:

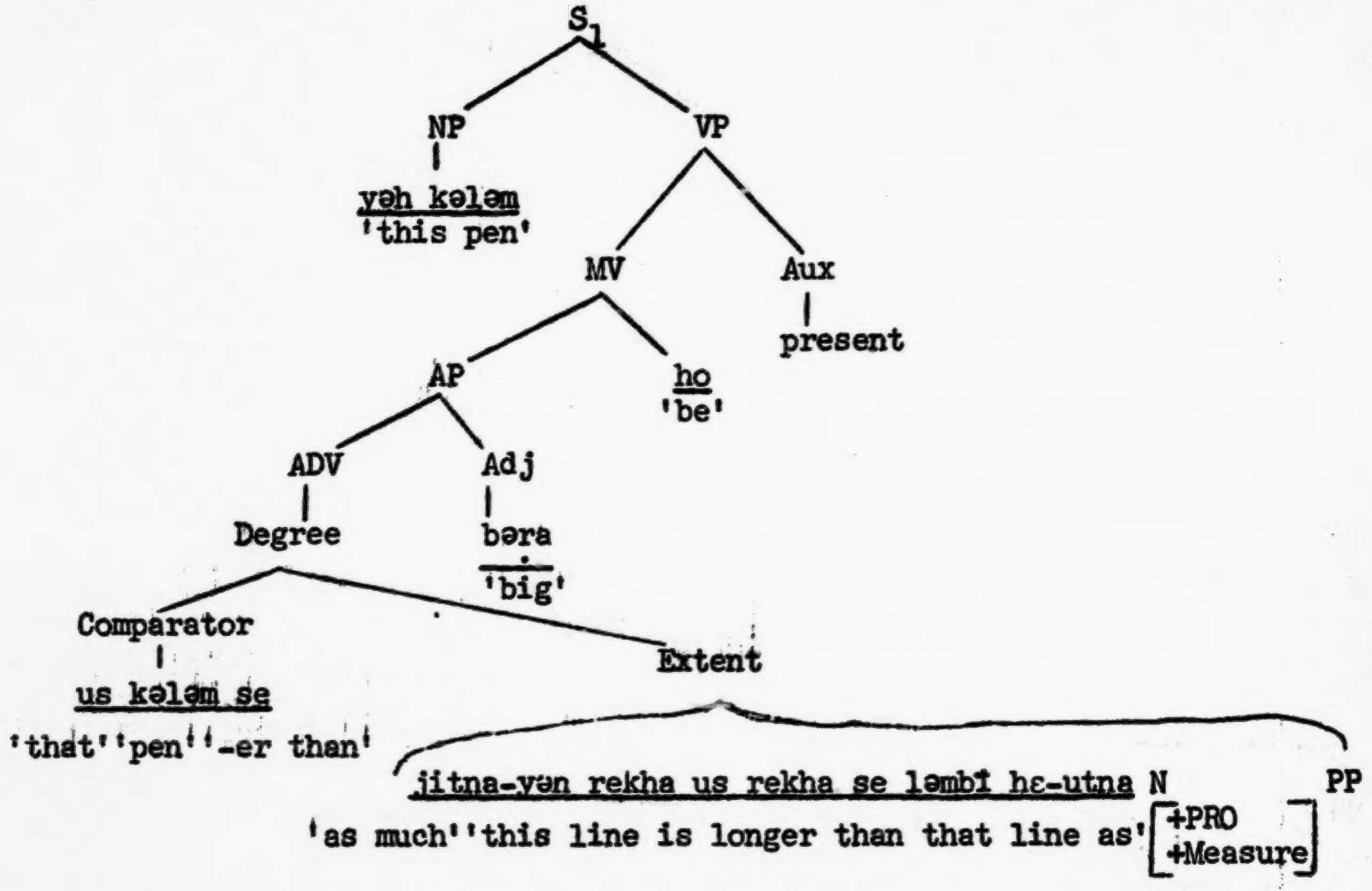
The S_4 is reduced in the same manner as was suggested for S_2 on p. 105, yielding:


NP
DET
S_3
N
+ PRO
+ Measure
Complementizer
NP
VP
jitna utna
'as much as'
yəh rekha
'this line'
MV
Aux
present
us rekha se ləmbī ho
'that''line''-er than''long''be'

The complementizers jitna-utna signal the next step, and S_3 is transformed to:


S_3
jitna
utna
yəh rekha us rekha se ləmbī hɛ
'this''line''that''line''-er than''long''is'

Then S_2 is reduced just as S_4 was, yielding:


S_1
NP
VP
yəh kələm
'this pen'
MV
Aux
present
AP
ho
'be'
ADV
Adj
Degree
bəra
'big'
Comparator
Extent
us kələm se
'that''pen''-er than'
jitna-yən rekha us rekha se ləmbī hɛ-utna
'as much''this line is longer than that line as'
N
PP
+PRO
+Measure

Finally, the Extent expression is extraposed to the end of S_1, and we get

yəh kələm us kələm se utnī bərī hɛ jitnī yəh rekha

'this''pen''that''pen''-er than' 'big''is''as much''this''line'

us rekha se ləmbī hɛ

'that''line''-er than''long''is'

Notice now that the Measure expression may contain a S which takes specific complementizers, e.g., jitna-utna 'as much as' and itna ki 'so much that'. An example of the latter is:

yəh bəksa us bəkse se itna bharī he ki ek pəhəlvan

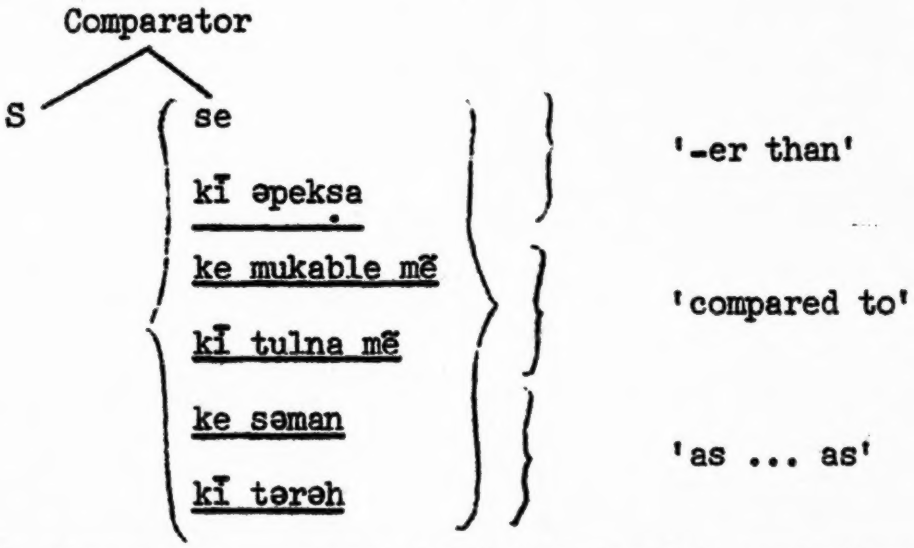
'this''box''that''box''-er than''so''heavy''is''that''a''champion'

bhī ise nəhī̃ utha səkega

'even''it''not''raise''will be able to'

'This box is so much heavier than the other that even a champion could not lift it.'

The comparator element may be expanded in the following way:


Comparator
S
se
kī əpekṣa
ke mukable mẽ
kī tulna mẽ
ke səman
kī tərəh
'-er than'
'compared to'
'as ... as'

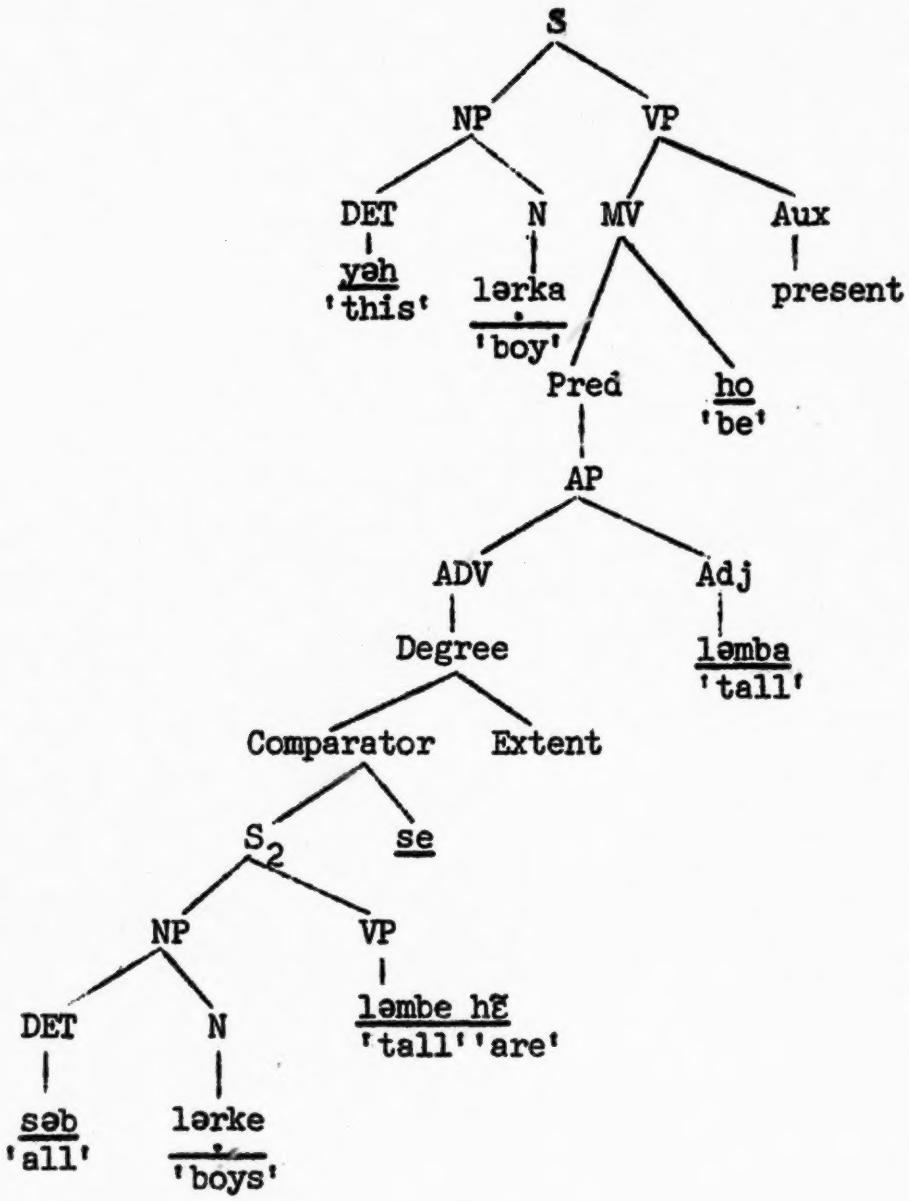
Before we end this discussion, a word about the English equivalents of Hindi comparators. The '-er than', 'compared to', 'as ... as' signal comparison in English:

John is taller than Bill
John is tall compared to Bill
John is as tall as Bill

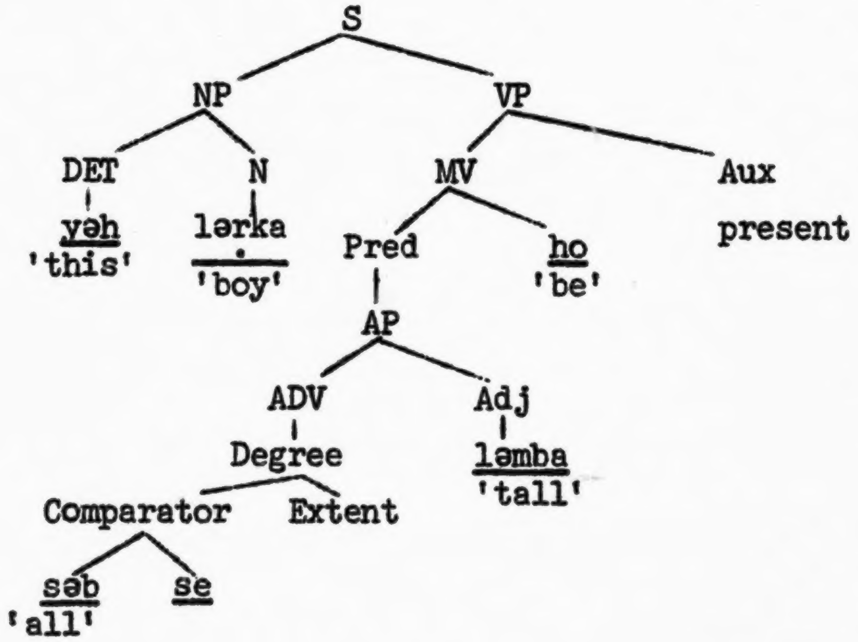
The superlative construction is derived similarly in Hindi. Consider the following sentences:

yəh ləṛka səbse ləmba hɛ
'This''boy''of all''tall''is'
'This boy is the tallest of all.'
himaləy səbse ū̃ca pəhaṛ hɛ
'Himalaya''of all''tall''mountain''is'
'The Himalayas are the tallest of all mountains.'

The underlying structure of the first sentences is clear from the following abbreviated diagram (cf. p. 144 for the expansion of the node Extent):


S
NP
VP
DET
N
MV
Aux
yəh
'this'
lərka
'boy'
present
Pred
ho
'be'
AP
ADV
Adj
Degree
ləmba
'tall'
Comparator
Extent
S2
se
NP
VP
DET
N
ləmbe hẽ
'tall' 'are'
səb
'all'
lərke
'boys'

The deletion of the shared elements in the embedded S, i.e., S_2, leaves:


S
NP
VP
DET
N
MV
Aux
yəh
'this'
lərka
'boy'
Pred
ho
'be'
present
AP
ADV
Adj
Degree
ləmba
'tall'
Comparator
Extent
səb
'all'
se

Notice that the matrix and the embedded S's must have identical subject N's, Adj's and Aux's. Also, the DET of the NP of the embedded S must be *səb* ('all').The superlative construction can be derived only if the above conditions are fulfilled.

5.1.2. In section 5.1. a distinction was made between *base* and *derived adjectives*, and the *derived* adjectives were exemplified by phrases such as the following:

khilte hue phūl

'the blooming flowers'

merī laī huī kitab

'my''brought''book'

'the book brought by me'

is məkan mẽ rehnevala ləṛka

'this''house''in''one''who''lives''boy'

'the boy living in this house'

How these adjectival phrases are derived from sentences such as the following will be discussed in detail in the following pages:

phūl khil rəhe hɛ̃

'flowers 'blooming''are'

'flowers are blooming'

mɛ̃ kitab laya

'L''book''brought'

'I brought the book'

ləṛka is məkan mẽ rehta hɛ

'boy''this''house''in''lives'

'The boy lives in this house.'

We shall refer to the phrases of the type khilte hue (phūl) as 'Present Participial Phrase', merī laī huī (kitab) as 'Past Participial Phrase', and is məkan mẽ rehnevala (ləṛka) as 'Agentive Phrase' respectively.

Present Participial Phrase

All sentences involving the durative aspect of the Verb, such as the following, may be reduced to the corresponding adjectival phrases listed below:

malin phūl toṛ rehī hɛ

'flower-girl''flower''pick-ing''is'

'The flower girl is picking flowers.'

phūl toṛtī huī malin

'The flower-picking flower-girl'

panī tezī se bəh rəha hɛ

'water''swiftly''flowing''is'

'The water is flowing swiftly.'

təzī se bəhta panī

'The swiftly flowing water '

ləṛke ləṭṭū nəca rəhe hɛ̃

'boys''tops''swirl-ing''are'

'The boys are spinning tops.'

ləṭṭū nəcate hue ləṛke

'The top-spinning boys.'

nanajī jhəpkiyã le rəhe hɛ̃

'grandfather''nap''tak-ing''is'

'Grandfather is dozing.'

jhəpkiyã lete hue nanajī

'The dozing grandfather.'

Consider the following sentences containing such Adjectival Phrases:

vəh cəltī huī moṭər se kūd pəṛa

'He''moving''car''from''jumped''out'

'He jumped out of the moving car.'

usne ḍūbtī huī ləṛkī ko bəca liya

'He''drowning''girl''to''saved'

'He saved the drowning girl.'

uska pɛr ubəlte hue panī se jəl gəya

'his''foot''boiling''water''with''got''burnt'

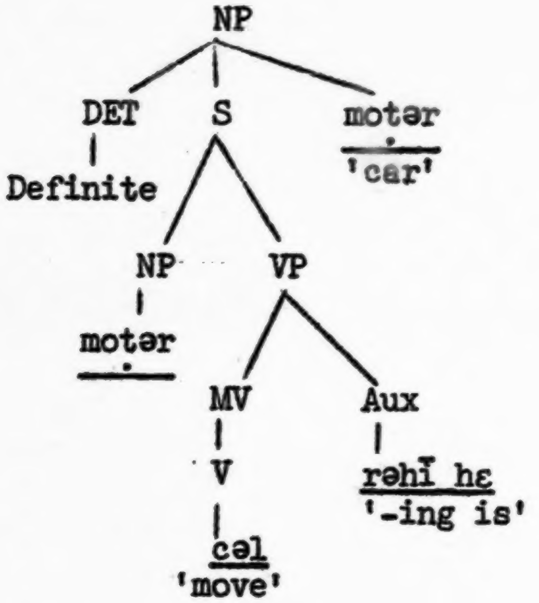
'His foot got scalded with boiling water.'

vəh cərtī huī gayõ kī rəkhvalī kər rəha hɛ

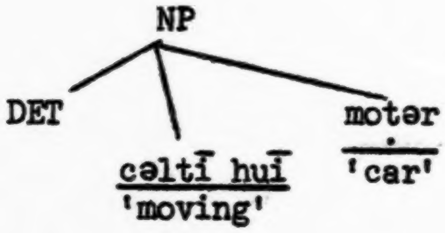
'he''grazing''cows''of''guarding''do-ing''is'

'He is guarding the grazing cows.'

The deep structure of the Noun Phrases in the above sentences is as follows:


NP
DET
S
moṭər
'car'
Definite
NP
VP
moṭər
MV
Aux
V
rəhī hɛ
'-ing is'
cəl
'move'

The shared N of the embedded S and the Aux of the embedded S are deleted, and the elements -ta hua are added to the verb of the embedded S in the process of relativization. The subsequent reduction of the relative clause results in:


NP
DET
cəltī huī
'moving'
moṭər
'car'

The Adjectival Phrase agrees with the following N in number and gender.

Past Participial Phrase

Sentences containing only a restricted sub-class of Verbs yield Past Participial Adjectival Phrases that modify the Subject N. For instance, consider the following sentences containing different sub-classes of Intrnasitive and Transitive Verbs, and notice that some of them yield corresponding Adjectival Phrases, whereas the rest do not.

kɔwa ghəṛe pəṛ bɛṭha hɛ

'crow''pot''on''seated''is'

'The crow is seated on the pot.'

ghəṛe pəṛ bɛṭha hua kɔwa

'pot''on''seated''crow'

'The crow seated on the pot.'

bəndər pəṛ se kūd pəṛa tha

'Monkey''tree''from''jumped''down''had'

'The monkey had jumped down the tree.'

* pəṛ se kūda hua bəndər

'Tree''from''jumped''monkey'

* 'The jumped down the tree monkey'

bəcce ne nəī ṭopī pəhənī hɛ

''child''new''cap''put''on''has'

'The child has put on a new cap.'

nəī ṭopī pəhna hua bəcca

''new''cap''having put on'' child'

'The child with a new cap on ...'

dhobī ne səb kəpṛe dho liye hɛ̃

'dhobi''all''clothes''washed''has'

'The dhobi has washed all the clothes.'

* səb kəpṛe dhoya hua dhobī

'all''clothes''having''washed''dhobi'

* 'The having-washed-all-the-clothes dhobi...

We shall refer to those Verbs which yield Past Participial Adjectival Phrases that modify the subject N as 'Stative Verbs', and those that do not as 'Non-Stative Verbs'. Most Intransitive Verbs are Stative, except the followingɔ

uchəlna, *kūdna*, *khelna*, *jhūlna*, *phā̃dna*, ('to leap,' 'jump', 'play', 'swing','spring',).

Most Transitive Verbs are Non-Stative , except the followingɔ *sīkhna*, *pəhənna* (to 'learn, 'wear').

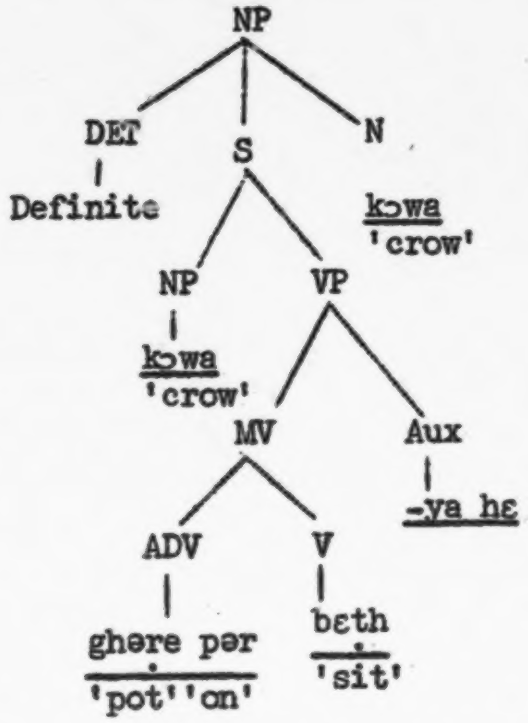
The *deep structure* of NP's such as the following is diagrammed below:

ghəṛe pəṛ bɛṭha hua kɔwa

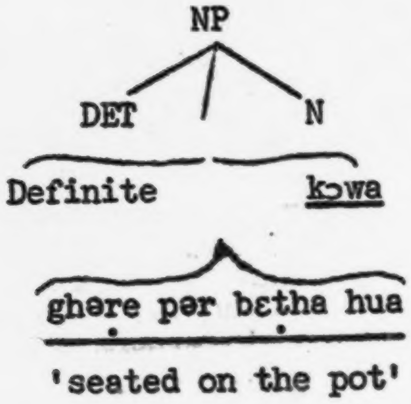
'The crow seated on the pot...'

kəm sīkha hua nɔkər

'The having-learned-the-job servant'...



The shared N of the embedded S and the Aux of the embedded S are deleted. Subsequently, the adjectivizer *-ya hua* is added to the V of the embedded S in the process of relativization. These operations are followed by the reduction of the relative clause, which yields


NP
DET
N
Definite
kɔwa
ghere pər bɛtha hua
'seated on the pot'

All Transitive Verbs (i.e., both Stative and Non-Stative) yield Past-Participial Adjectival Phrases that modify the object N, e.g.

dhobī ke dhoye hue kəpṛe

'dhobi''of''washed''clothes'

'The clothes washed by the dhobi...'

ram kī pəṛhī huī kitab

'Ram''of''read''book'

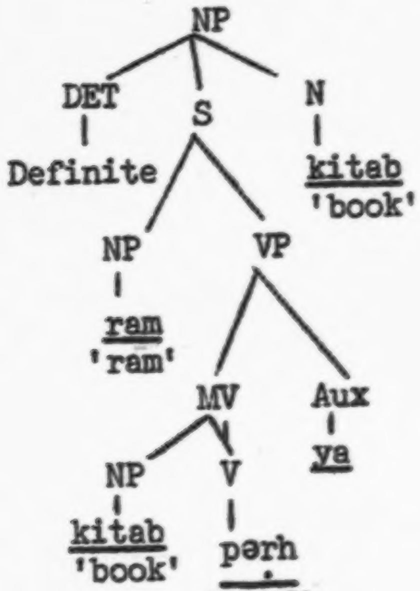
'The book read by Ram...'

nɔkər ka sīkha hua kam...

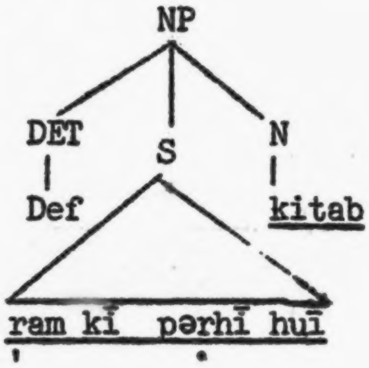
'servant''of''learned''job'

'The job learned by the servant...'

The structure of such phrases is as follows:

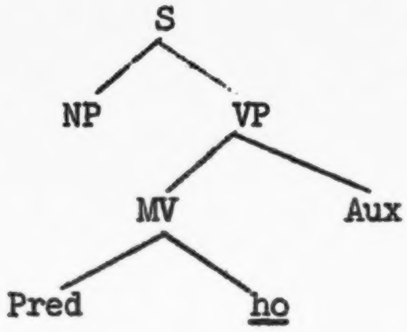

NP
DET
S
N
Definite
kitab
'book'
NP
VP
ram
'ram'
MV
Aux
ya
NP
V
kitab
'book'
pəṛh
'read'

The deletion of the shared N from the embedded S, and the adjectivization of V of the embedded S, plus the attachment of Gen to NP of the embedded S, gives usɔ



Agentive Phrase

All sentences, except the copula sentences, such as:



yield agentive adjectival phrases. The following phrases and sentences corresponding to them illustrate this:

Šəkuntala ka əbhinəy kərnevalī us ləṛkī ko mɛ̃ jantī hū̃

'Shakuntala''of''acting''doer''that''girl''to''I''know'

'I know that girl who acts as Skakuntala.'

vəh ləṛkī Šəkuntala ka əbhinəy kərtī hɛ

'That''girl''Shakuntala''of''acting''does'

'That girl acts as Shakuntala.'

us nukkəṛ pər bɛthnevala bhikharī əndha hɛ

'that''corner''on''sitter''beggar''blind''is'

'The beggar who sits on that corner is blind.'

bhikarī us nukkəṛ pər bɛṭhta hɛ

'Beggar''that''corner''on''sits'

'The beggar sits on that corner.'

us jhopre mẽ rəhne vale buḍḍhe ka koī nəhī̃

'That''hut''in"one who lives''old man''of''anyone''not'

'The old man who lives in that hut has no relatives.'

buḍḍha us jhopṛe mẽ rəhta hɛ

'old man''that''hut''in''lives!

'The old man lives in that hut.'

bhɛ̃s ka dū̃dh becnevala koī gvala yəhã hɛ?

'buffalo''of''milk''seller''any''here''is'

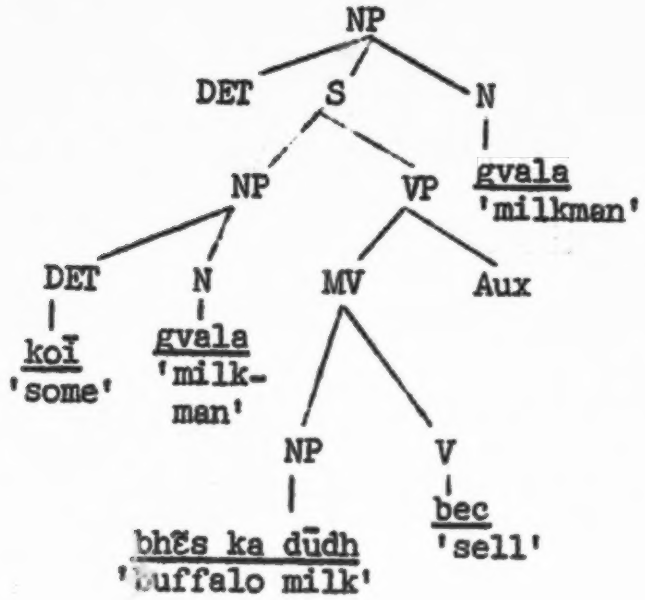
'Is there a milkman here who sells buffalo milk?'

koi gvala bhɛ̃s ka dū̃dh becta hɛ

'some''milkman''buffalo''of''milk''sells'

'Some milkman sells buffalo milk.'

The underlying structure of the underscored phrases is as follows:


NP
DET
S
N
gvala
'milkman'
NP
VP
DET
N
MV
Aux
koī
'some'
gvala
'milk-man'
NP
V
bhɛ̃s ka dū̃dh
'buffalo milk'
bec
'sell'

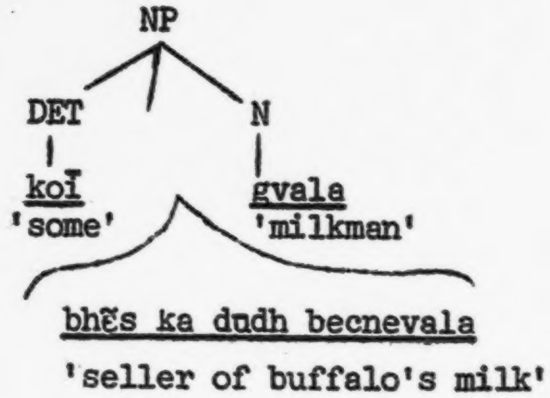
The following operations have to be performed on the embedded S in the process of relativization:

(1) delete the shared N of the embedded S

(2) delete the Aux of the embedded S

(3) add -ne vala to the verb of the embedded S.

These operations yield:


NP
DET
N
koī
'some'
gvala
'milkman'
bhɛ̃s ka dudh becnevala
'seller of buffalo's milk'

Later adjustments in the order of DET and embedded S then gives us

bhɛ̃s ka dūdh becnevala koī gvala

5.2. In Hindi, we have to distinguish the following types of Adverbs: [2]

(1) Adverbs of Time

ram kəl dillī gəya

'Ram''yesterday''Delhi''went'

'Ram went to Delhi yesterday.'

subəh mɛ̃ bəhər cəla gəya tha

'in the morning''I''out''had''gone'

'I had gone out in the morning.'

aj se vəh roz skūl jaega

'From today''he''everyday''to school''will go'.

'He will go to school every day from today.'

(2) Adverbs of Place

vəh ghər mẽ nəhī̃ hɛ

'he'home in'' not''is'

'He is not at home.'

vəh fərš pər leṭa tha

'He''the''floor''on''was''lying'

'He was lying on the floor.'

nədī ke kinare ek prəsiddh məndir hɛ

'river''of''bank''a''famous''temple''is'

'There is a famous temple on the bank of the river.'

bharət ke uttər mẽ himaləy hɛ

'India''of''north''in''Himalayas''are'

'The Himalayas are in the north of India.'

(3) Adverbs of Manner

kam asanī se ho jaega

'work''ease''with''will''happen'

'The work will be done easily.'

kutta zorõ se bhū̃k rəha tha

'dog''loud''with'bark-ing''was'

'The dog was barking loudly.'

(4) Instrumental Adverbs

vəh kulhaṛī se peṛ kaṭ rəha tha

'He''axe''with''tree''cut''ing''was'

'He was cutting the tree with an axe.'

sīta məšīn se kəpṛe sī rəhī hɛ

'sita''machine''with''clothes''stitch-ing' 'is'

'Sita is sewing clothes with a sewing machine.'

(5) Concomitive Adverbs

mitrõ ke sath ghūmna əccha ləgtā hɛ

'friends''with''wandering''good''feels'

'It is pleasant to go out with friends.'

vəh bhaī ke sath ja rəha tha

'He''brother''with''go-ing''is'

'He is going with (his) brother.'

(6) Degree Adverbials

Any Descriptive Adjective may be preceded by a Degree Adverb, such as bəhut or bəṛa 'very', itna 'so much', utna 'that much' etc. Such Adverbs have been discussed in detail in 5.1.1.

The comparative construction discussed in relation to the Adjectives, is relevant for the Adverbs also. In the following pages, we shall discuss the comparative construction in Adverbials, and then the derived Adverbial phrases.

5.2.1. Both the manner and the time Adverbs participate in comparative constructions, e.g.,

Manner

maltī lalita se sundər sītī hɛ

'Malti''Lalita''-er than''well''sews'

'Malti sews better than Lalita.'

ram šyam se zyada savdhanī se bəndūk saf kərta hɛ

'Ram''Shyam''-er' than "more''care''with''gun''clean''does'

'Ram cleans the gun more carefully than Shyam.'

Time

mohən sohən kī apekṣa der se aya

'Mohan''Sohan''-er than''later''came'

'Mohan came later than Sohan.'

mɛ̃ tumse bəhut pəhle ghər pəhũc gəī thī

'I''you''-er than''very''early''home''reached''had.'

'I had reached home much earlier than you.'

Notice that only manner adverbials related to Adjectives participate in the comparative construction; other manner Adverbs such as əkəsmat, pɛdəl, 'suddenly, 'on foot', etc. do not. It is therefore correct to say that in the above examples, Adjectives underlie the Adverbs sundər and savdhanī se. That is to say, they may be paraphrased as:

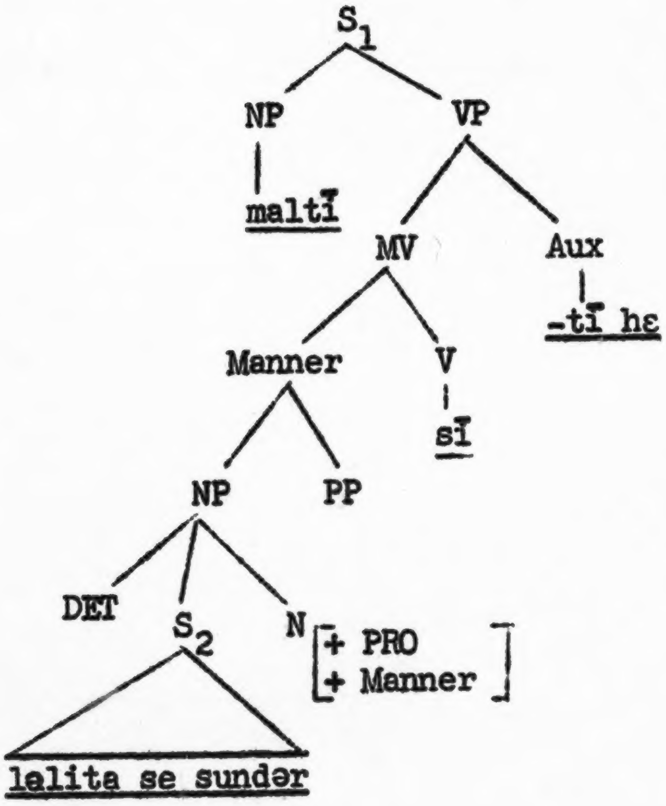
maltī ləlita se sundər (ḍheng / rītī / tərīke) se sītī hɛ
'malti''ləlita''-er than''well' 'manner' 'with''sews'

'Malti sews in a better manner than Ləlita.'

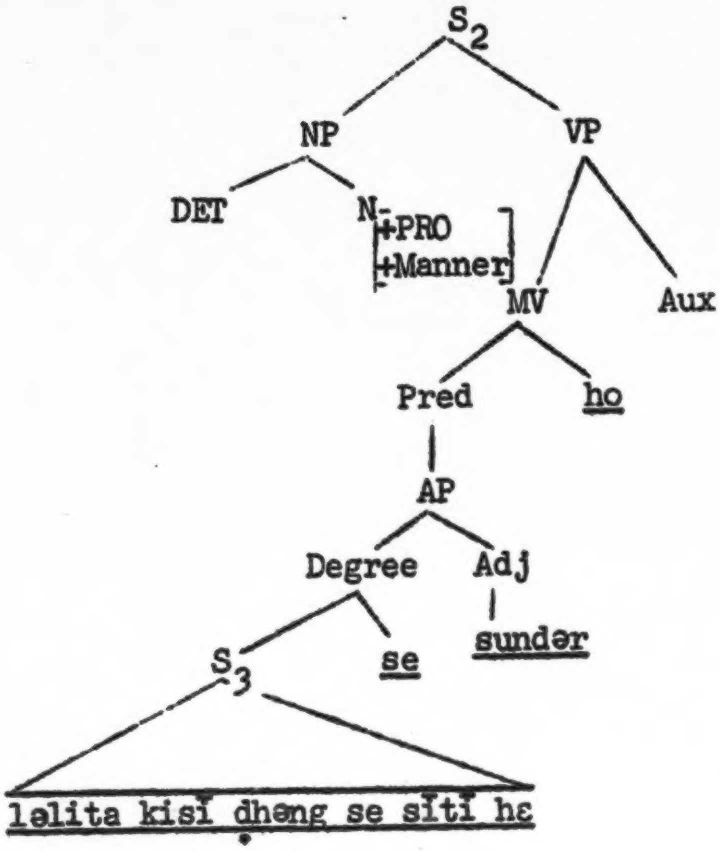
mɛ̃ tumse zyada savdhan (ḍheng / rītī / tərīke) se bəndūk saf kərũga
'I''you''-er than''more careful' 'manner' 'with''gun''clean''will do'

'I shall clean the gun in a more careful manner than you.'

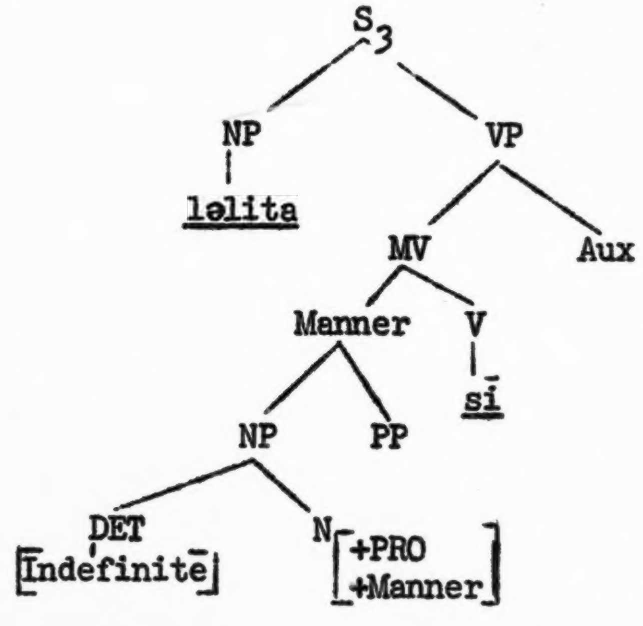
The deep or underlying structure of the above sentences may be diagrammed as follows:


S_1
NP
VP
maltī
MV
Aux
-tī hɛ
Manner
V
sī
NP
PP
DET
S_2
N
+ PRO
+ Manner
ləlita se sundər

The Pro-N meaning manner is deleted and so is the postposition following the N, so we are left with the comparative Adverb ləlita se sundər. The underlying structure of this phrase is as follows:


S_2
NP
VP
DET
N
+PRO
+Manner
MV
Aux
Pred
ho
AP
Degree
Adj
sundər
S_3
se
ləlita kisī dhəng se sītī hɛ

And, the underlying structure of the S embedded in Degree is as follows:

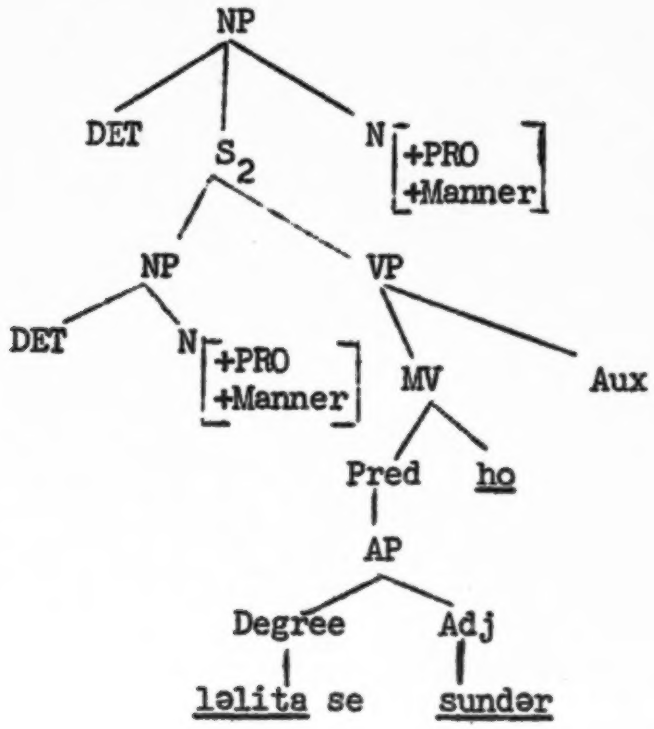

S3
NP
VP
ləlita
MV
Aux
Manner
V
sī
NP
PP
DET
Indefinite
N
+PRO
+Manner

Notice that the innermost embedded S, (i.e., S_3 in the above diagram) has to contain an indefinite manner expression to prevent endless recursion such as:

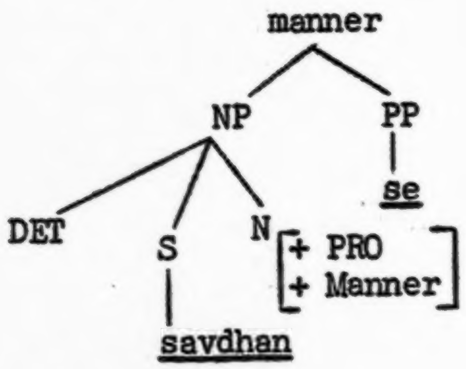
* maltī ləlita se mohinī se sundər sītī hɛ

Malti sews better than Lalita than Mohini.'

The deletion of the VP of S_3 leaves:


NP
DET
S2
N
+PRO
+Manner
NP
VP
DET
N
+PRO
+Manner
MV
Aux
Pred
ho
AP
Degree
Adj
ləlita se
sundər

Notice that as the PRO-N and the PP are deleted from S_1 the underlying AP of S_2 is embedded directly as the manner Adverb; but, in some cases, the underlying Adjective cannot be directly embedded as a manner Adverb, e.g., savdhan 'careful'. The manner Adverb savdhanī se is derived from a structure such as:



The class of Adjective to which savdhan belongs, does not permit the Pro-N to be deleted; instead, the Adjective and the Pro-N merge to produce abstarct N's such as savdhanī (care). As the Pro-N is not deleted, the postposition cannot be deleted either.

The class of Adj's that behaves like sundər has as its members:

əccha, tez, ...

The class of Adj's that behaves like savdhan has as its members:

asan, tez, ...

The comparative time expressions can be explained in the same way.

5.2.2. The derived Adverbial phrases are of the following types:

(1) Those involving a present participial VP;

(2) Those involving a past participial VP; and

(3) Those involving V + kər.

The following are examples of all of these types:

(1) šer gərəjta hua šikar pər ṭūṭ pəṛa

'lion''roaring''prey''upon''pounced'

'The lion pounced upon his prey roaring'

(2) vək ghuṭnõ pər mũh ṭikaye bɛṭhī rəhī

'she''knees''on''chin''resting''seated''continued'.

'She continued to sit with her chin resting on her knees.'

(3) cor pəhredar ko jəga dekh kər khisək gəya

'thief''guard''awake''seeing''slipped away'

'The thief slipped away when he saw the guard awake.'

All these types will be discussed in detail in the following pages.

Present Participial Phrases

Consider the following sentences:

(a) kutta dɔṛta hua aya

'The dog came running.'

ləṛkī hə̃stī huī cəlī gəī

'The girl went away laughing!'

məzdūrinẽ chət kūṭtī huī gana ga rəhī thī̃

'The women laborers were singing as they levelled the roof.'

usne cəlte hue kəha tha ki vəh jəld lɔṭega

'He had said while leaving that he would come back soon.'

(b) əndər ate hi vəh behoš ho gəya

'He fainted as soon as he came in.'

pitajī ke ghər ate hī həmne khana khaya

'We ate as soon as father came home.'

(c) šam ḍhəlte ḍhəlte vəh ghər pahũc gəya

'He reached home before the evening wore off.'

rat hote hote use nī̃d a gəī

'He felt sleepy as soon as night descended.

(d) cəlte cəlte uske pãvõ mẽ chale pəṛ gəye

'His feet were blistered because of continuous walking.'

hə̃ste hə̃ste uske peṭ mẽ bəl pəṛ gəye

'His stomach ached because of continuous laughing.'

Note that there are two types of Adverbs, some are subject to severe co-occurrence restrictions with the V, some are not. An example of the first type is the instrumental Adverb, e.g.,

vəh caku se phəl kaṭta hɛ

'He''knife''with''fruit''cuts'

'He cuts fruit with a knife.'

* vəh caku se mujhko pūchta

'He knife''with''me''asks'

The V's are sub-categorized according to which Adv's they can occur with, e.g., kaṭna occurs with an instrumental, pūchna does not. Although there are no constraints between time Adv's and V's, there are important co-occurrence constraints between them and the tense of the V's. Then, there are adverbs which are related to the whole sentence. These are referred to as Sentence Adverbs (SADV). Some examples of SADV are the following:

mɛ̃ zərūr jana cahta hū̃

'I''certainly''to go''want'

'I certainly want to go.'

vəh spəṣṭ hī̄ bəhut bīmar hɛ

'He''obviously''very''ill''is.'

'He is obviously very ill.'

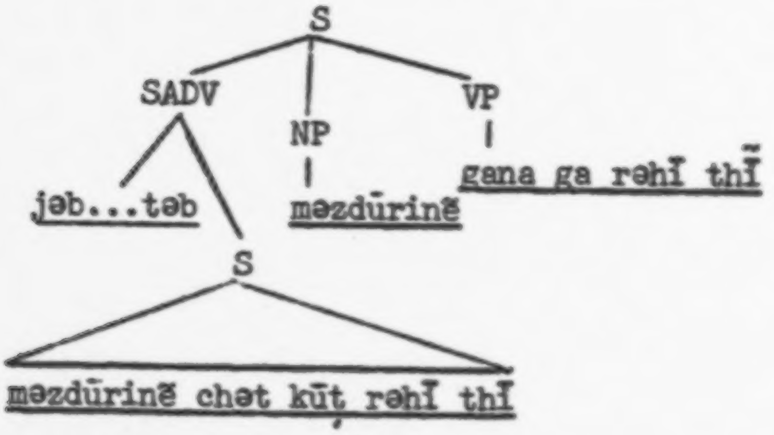
SADV, then, is developed as follows:

SADV
|
ADV e.g., zərūr — 'certainly'
NP + PP e.g., spəṣṭ rup se — 'obviously'
Particles + S

The subordinating conjunction particles are elements such as:

jəb tək .... təb tək	'till'
jyõ hī .... tyõ hī	'as soon as'
jəb .... təb, etc.	'when .... then'

For the sentences in (a), the deep structure is as follows:



Notice that there are no constraints between the V of the matrix S, and the Present Participial adverbial phrases (on p.166) hence, these are considered instances of SADV. Also note that all the sentences in (a), (b) and (c) have paraphrases such as the following, therefore the analysis suggested is well motivated:

(a) jəb məzdūrinẽ chət kūṭ rəhī thī̃ təb ve gana ga rəhī thī̃

'when''women-laborers''roof''leveling''were''the''they''song''singing''
'were'

'When the women-laborers were leveling the roof, they were singing a song.'

(b) jyõ hī vəh əndər aya tyõ hī vəh bəhoš ho gəya

'as''soon''he''in''came''as''he''unconscious''became'

'He fainted as soon as he came in.'

(c) jəb tək šam ḍhəle təb tək vəh ghər pəhũc gəya

'till''evening''wore''off''by then''he''home''reached'

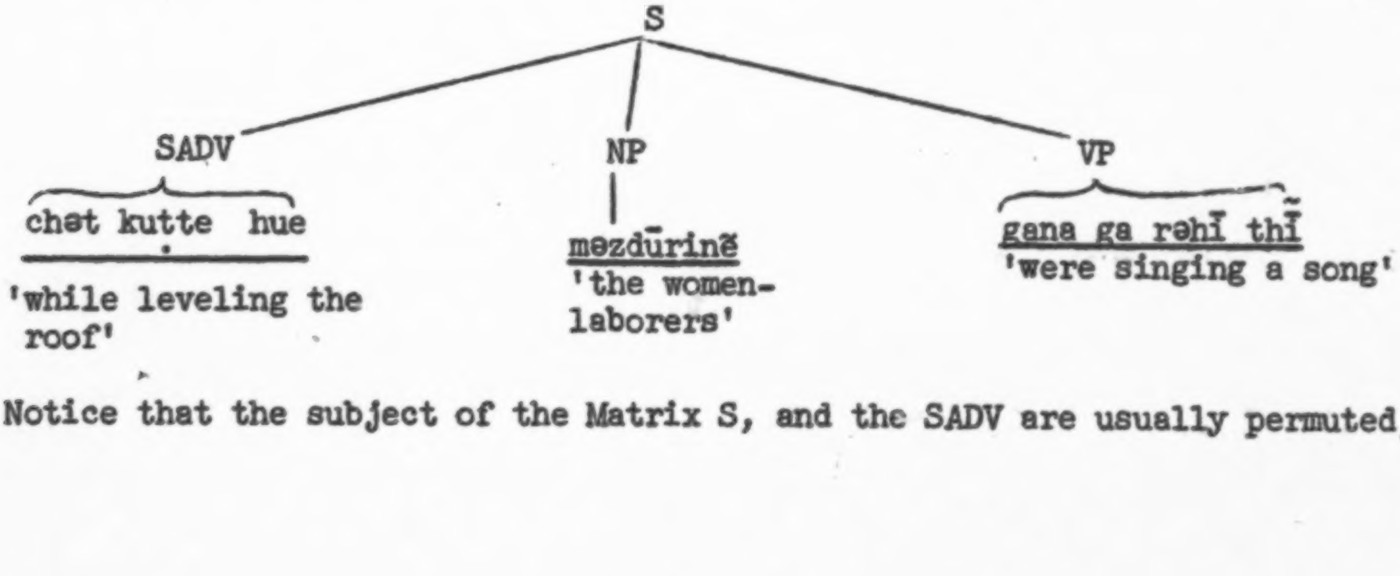
'He reached home before the evening wore off.'

(d) vəh cəlta rəha, isse uske pãvõ mẽ chale pəṛ gəe

'he''continued to walk''his''feet''in''blister''formed'

'His feet were blistered because of continuous walking.'

If the SADV is developed as Particle + S, and *jəb ... təb* is chosen as particle, the subject of Matrix and embedded N must be identical; the Aux of the embedded S must contain the durative aspect and the tenses of the Matrix and embedded S's must 'match'. The embedded S is reduced by deleting the shared N and the Aux of the embedded S and adding *ta hua* to the V of the embedded S which, applied to the above diagram, results in:



Notice that the subject of the Matrix S, and the SADV are usually permuted, so that we get:

mɛ̃ zərur jaū̃ga

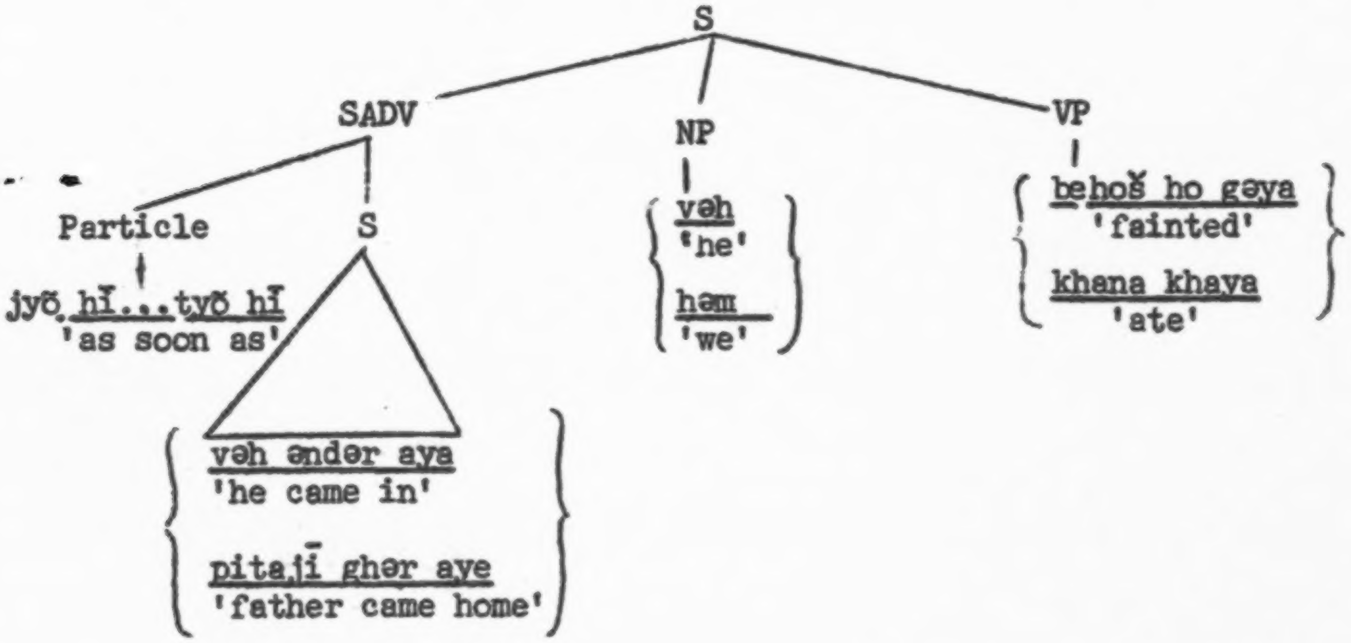
'I''certainly''will''go'

and also:

məzdūrinẽ chət kuṭte hue gana ga rəhī thī̃

'women-laborers''while leveling the roof''song''sing-ing''were'

The *deep* structure of the sentences in (b) is as follows:

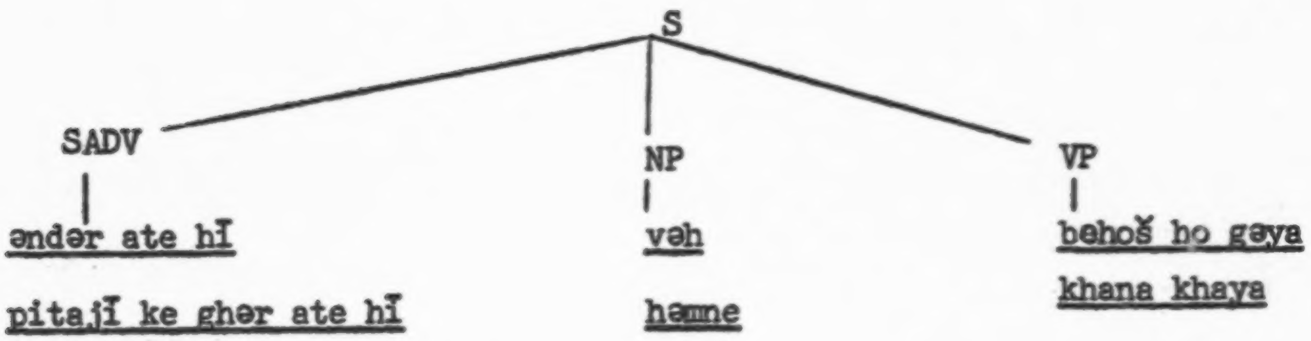

S
SADV
NP
VP
Particle
S
jyõ hī...tyõ hī
'as soon as'
vəh ənder aya
'he came in'
pitajī ghər aye
'father came home'
vəh
'he'
həm
'we'
behoš ho gəya
'fainted'
khana khaya
'ate'

Note that if the subjects of the Matrix and embedded S's are identical, the subject of the embedded S is deleted, otherwise it takes a Gen element as in:

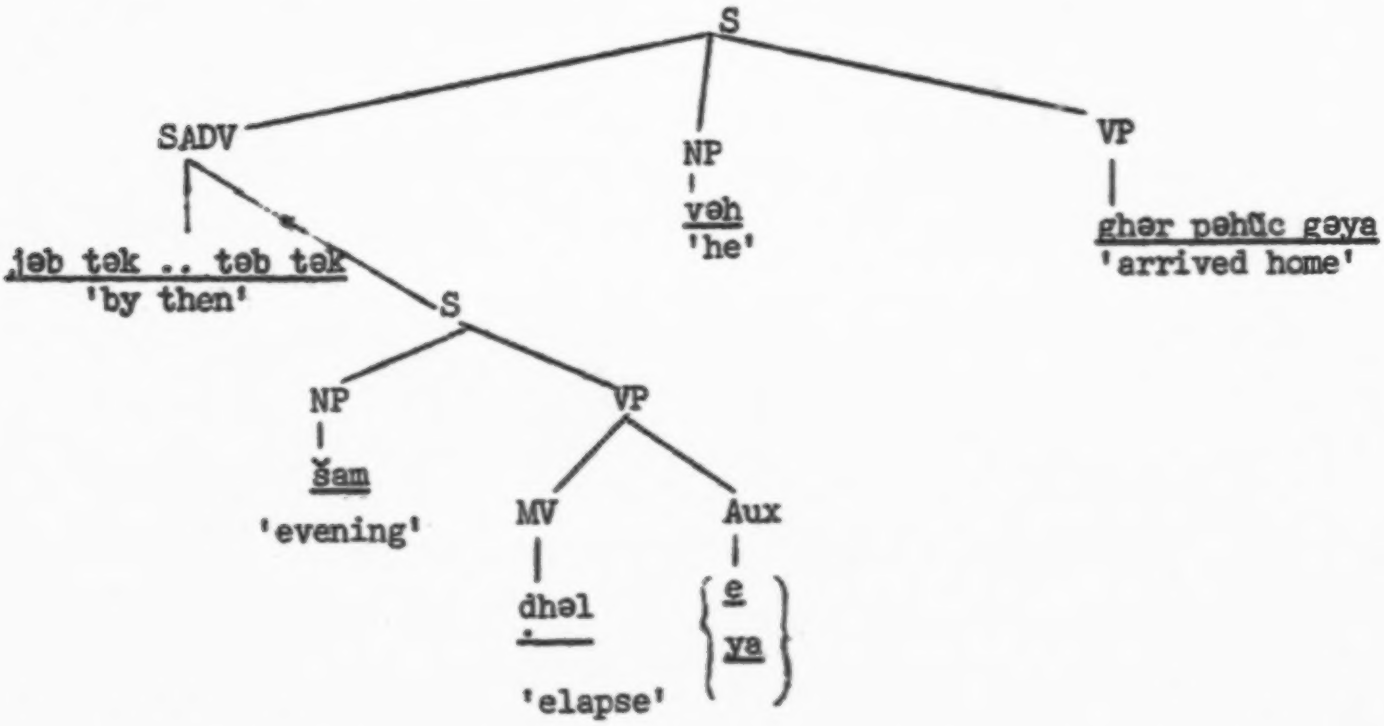
pitaji ke ghər ate hī

'As soon as father came home.'

The Aux elements must match for the SADV embedding to take place. The reduction of SADV involves deletion of the Particle and the shared N, if any or assigning a Gen element to the subject of the embedded S, the deletion of the Aux of the embedded S, and adding *-te hī* to the V of the embedded S, which, if applied to the above diagram, results in:

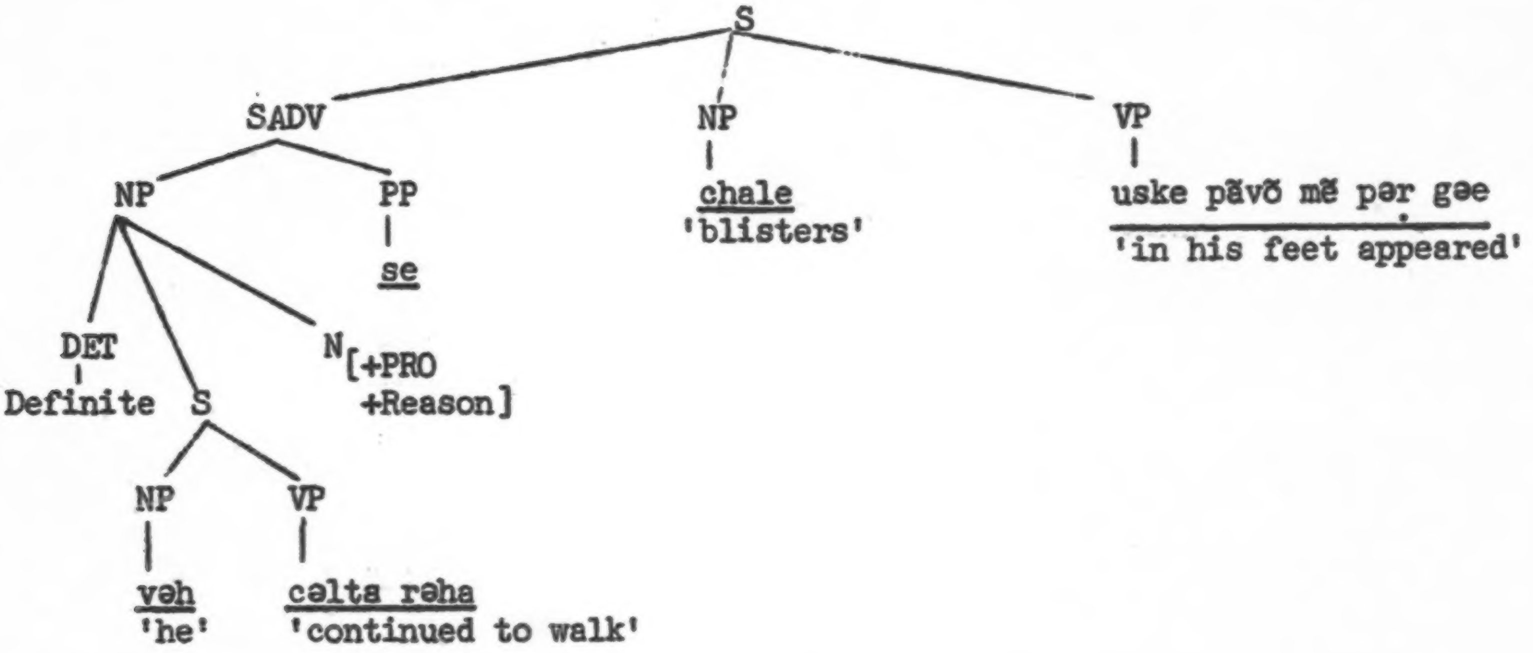

S
SADV
NP
VP
əndər ate hī
pitajī ke ghər ate hī
vəh
həmne
behoš ho gəya
khana khaya

The deep structure of the sentences in (c) is as follows:

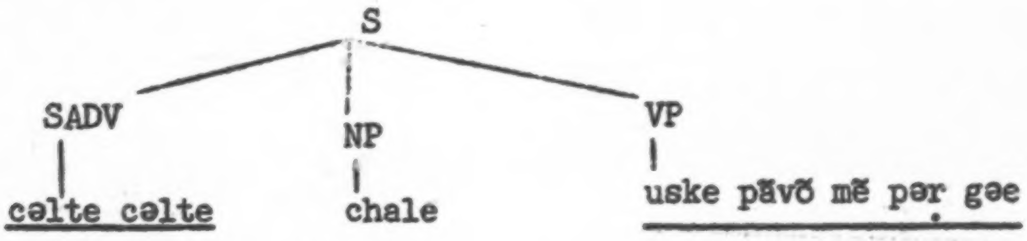

S
SADV
NP
VP
jəb tək .. təb tək
'by then'
vəh
'he'
ghər pəhũc gəya
'arrived home'
S
NP
VP
šam
'evening'
MV
Aux
dhəl
'elapse'
e
ya

If the particle is jəb tək .... təb tək, the embedded S must have as its Subject a N marked [+ time], the Subjects of the embedded and Matrix S's must not be identical, and the Auxiliary of the embedded S must be either optative -e, or simple past -ya. The reduction of the SADV involves the deletion of the Particle, the Aux of the embedded S, addition of -te to the V of the embedded S, and reduplication of the V + te.

The deep structure of the sentences in (d) is as follows:


S
SADV
NP
chale
'blisters'
VP
uske pãvõ mẽ pəṛ gəe
'in his feet appeared'
NP
PP
se
DET
Definite
S
N[+PRO +Reason]
NP
VP
vəh
'he'
cəlta rəha
'continued to walk'

The embedding takes place only if the subjects of the Matrix and Embedded S's are identical, and the MV of the embedded S contains a compound verb of the V + ta + rəh type, and the Aux is simple past -ya. The reduction of the SADV involves the deletion of the Particle, the shared N and Aux of the embedded S, the deletion of $N_{[+PRO]}$ and the PP, the addition of -te to the V of the embedded S, and reduplication of V + te. If applied to the above diagram, the result is:


S
SADV
NP
VP
cəlte cəlte
chale
uske pãvõ mẽ pəṛ gəe

Past Participial Phrases

(d) kutta mũh mẽ həḍḍī liye ja rəha tha

'The dog was going with a bone in its mouth.'

(e) am pəṛe pəṛe səṛ gəye

'The mangoes got rotten just lying there.'

(f) vəh bɛṭhe bɛṭhe thək gəya

'He got tired of sitting continuously.'

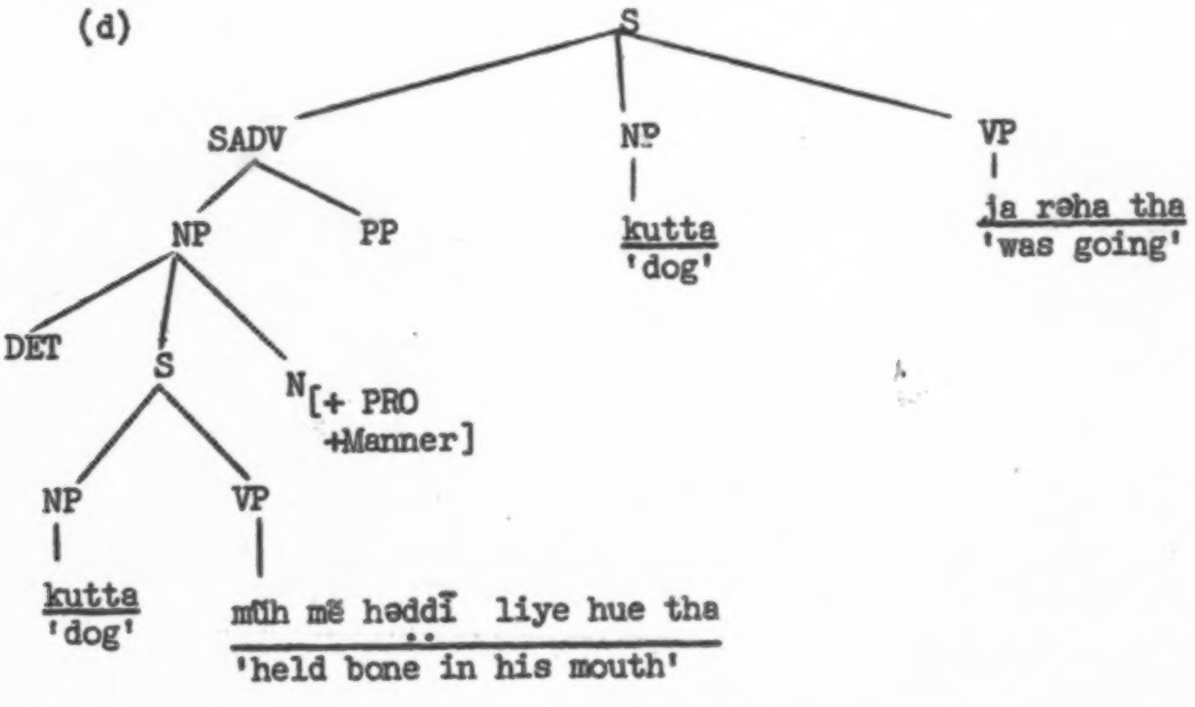
(f) usko dillī gəe do sal ho gəe

'Two years have elapsed since he went to Delhi.'

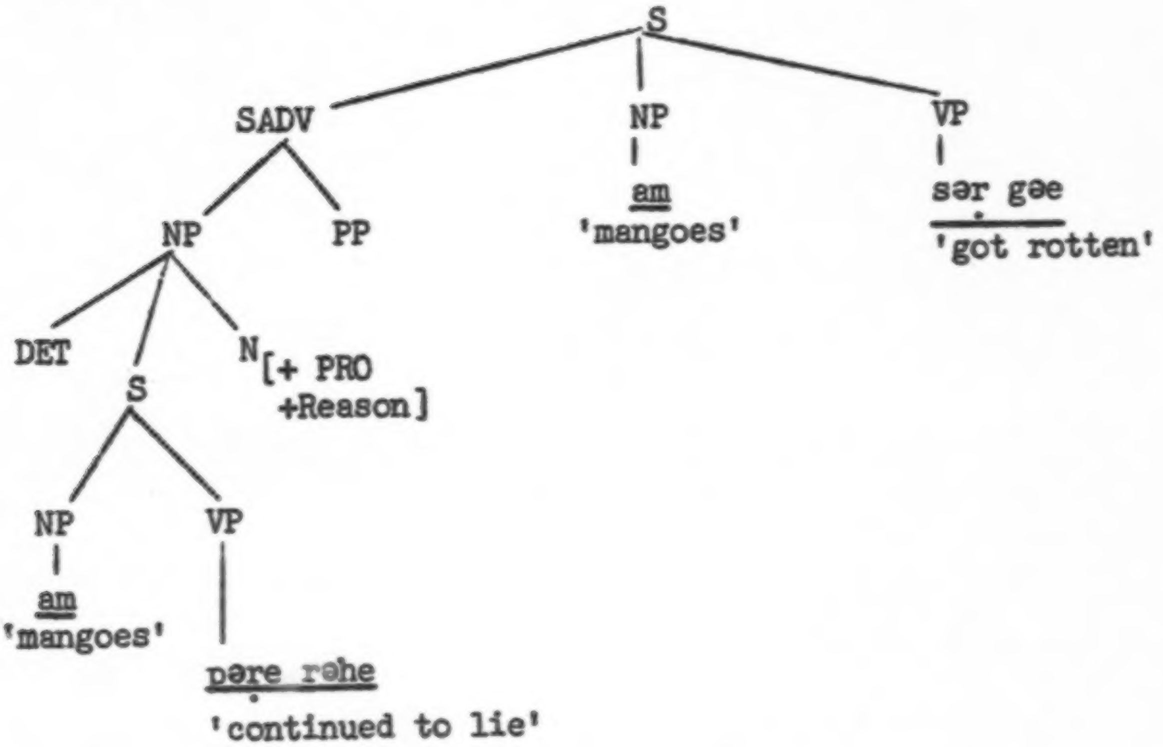
The Adverbials in (d) and (e) impose the condition that the Subjects of the Matrix and the embedded S's must be the same, whereas the ones in (f) require that the Subjects of the Matrix and embedded S's must be different. Also, the embedding of the past participial phrase in (f) is permissible only if the Subject of the Matrix S belongs to a small sub-class of N's which denote time, such as sal, məhīna, din, ghənṭa, 'year', 'month', 'day', 'hour', respectively; and the V of the matrix S belongs to a class that takes such N's as Subjects, e.g., ho jana, bītna, 'to elapse', 'to be spent.'

The underlying structures of the sentences in (d), (e) and (f) are as follows:

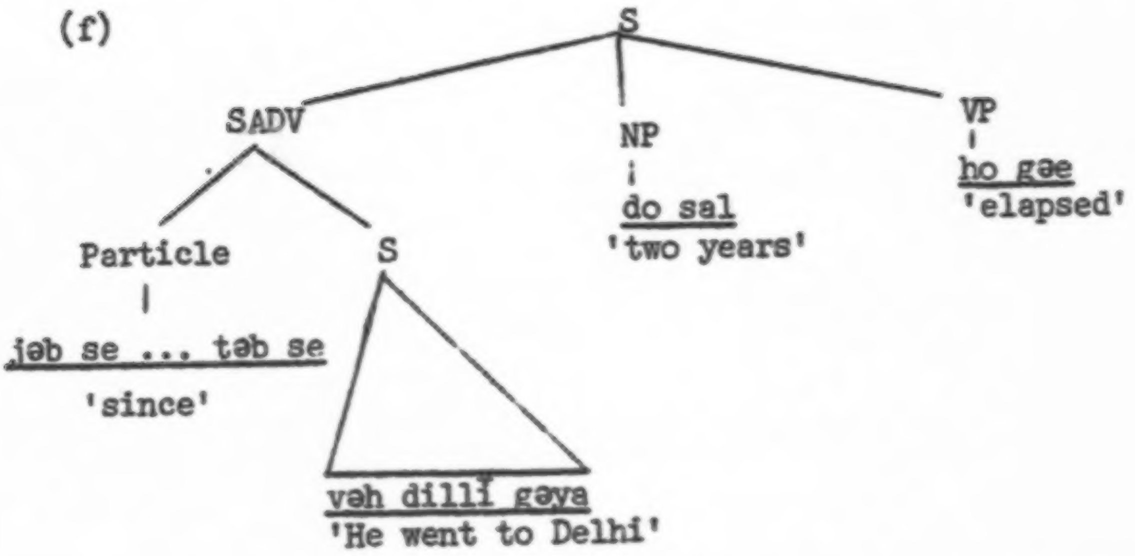
(d)


S
SADV
NP
VP
NP
PP
kutta
'dog'
ja rəha tha
'was going'
DET
S
N[+ PRO +Manner]
NP
VP
kutta
'dog'
mũh mẽ həḍḍī liye hue tha
'held bone in his mouth'

(e)


S
SADV
NP
VP
am
'mangoes'
səṛ gəe
'got rotten'
NP
PP
DET
S
N[+ PRO +Reason]
NP
VP
am
'mangoes'
pəṛe rəhe
'continued to lie'

(f)


S
SADV
NP
VP
Particle
S
jəb se ... təb se
'since'
vəh dillī gəya
'He went to Delhi'
do sal
'two years'
ho gəe
'elapsed'

Note that in (f), the postposition ko is added to the Subject of the embedded S when the SADV is reduced.

V + kər Phrase

Consider the following sentences:

raja bagh mar kər šikar se lɔṭe
'king''tiger''having killed''hunt''from''returned'
'The king returned from the hunt having killed a tiger.'

age ja kər unhõne nədī ke kinare khema tana

'forward''having gone''they''river''of''bank''tent''pitched'

'They camped on the bank of a river having gone farther.'

Compare the above sentences with the following:

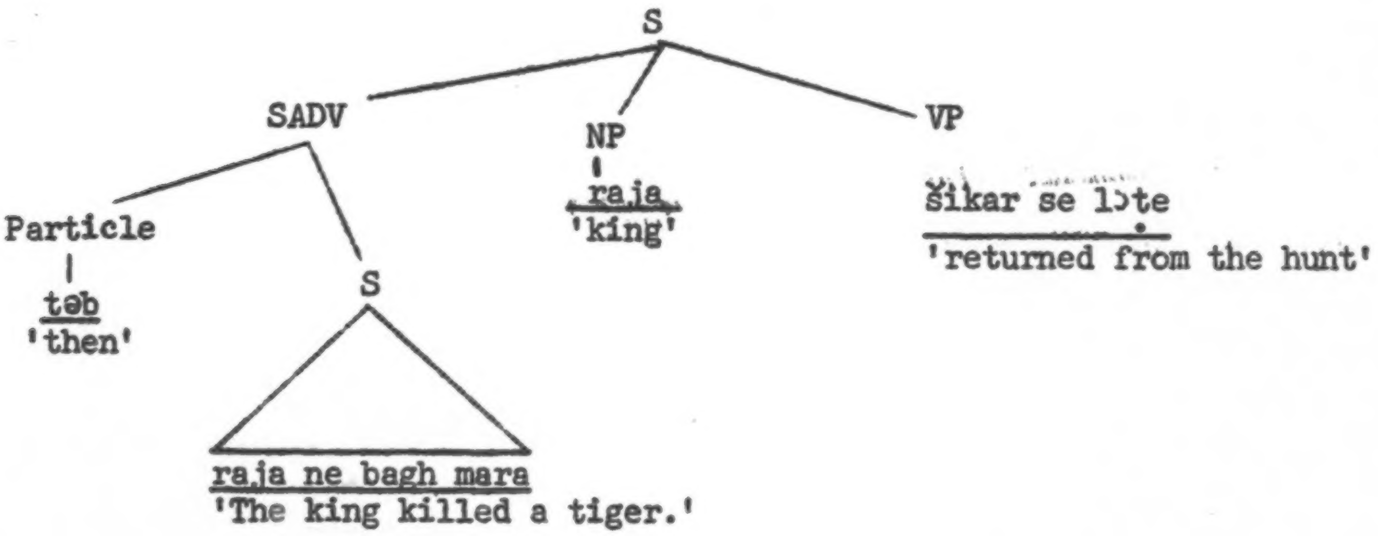
raja ne bagh mara, təb ve šikar se lɔṭe

'The king killed a tiger, then he retruned from the hunt.'

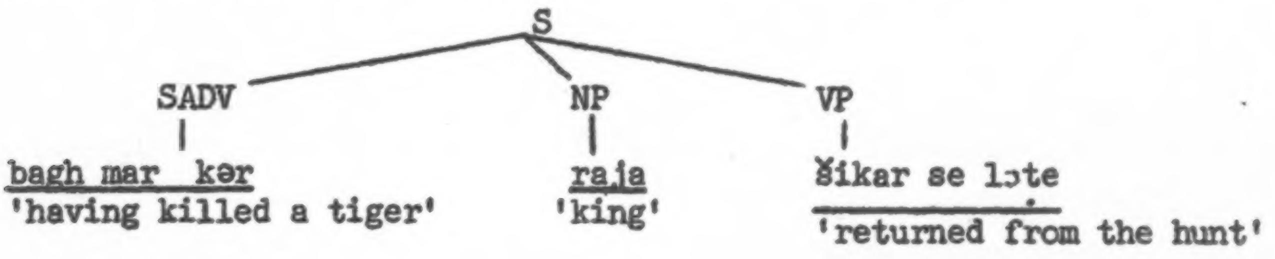
ve age gəye, təb unhõne .... khema tana

'They went ahead, then they ....camped.'

The underlying structure of such sentences is


S
SADV
NP
VP
Particle
təb
'then'
S
raja ne bagh mara
'The king killed a tiger.'
raja
'king'
šikar se lɔṭe
'returned from the hunt'

The embedding takes place if the Matrix and embedded S's have identical subjects, and their Aux elements 'match'. The reduction of the SADV involves the deletion of the particle, the shared N and the Aux of the embedded S, and addition of kər to the V of the embedded S, which, if a applied to the above diagram, yieldsɔ


S
SADV
NP
VP
bagh mar kər
'having killed a tiger'
raja
'king'
šikar se lɔṭe
'returned from the hunt'

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The treatment of comparative constructions is still being debated among various grammarians. No detailed treatment of such constructions in Hindi is available. For a sketch of such constructions in Hindi, see Y. Kachru, A Transformational Treatment of Hindi Verbal Syntax (unpublished). For some interesting discussion of problems connected with English comparative constructions, see:

   R. B Lees, 'Grammatical Analysis of the English Comparative Construction', WORD, 17, 1961.

   C. S. Smith, "A Class of Complex Modifiers in English", Language, 37, 1961.

   A. Hale, "The English Comparative: Adjective or Adverb?" (Unpublished paper, 1962).

   James D. McCawley, "Quantitative and Qualitative Comparison in English," LSA Winter Meeting, 1964 (unpublished).

2. For some remarks on various types of Adverbials in English, see:

   G. Lakoff, "On the Nature of Syntactic Irregularity". Computation Laboratory, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Report No. NSF-16, Dec. 1965.

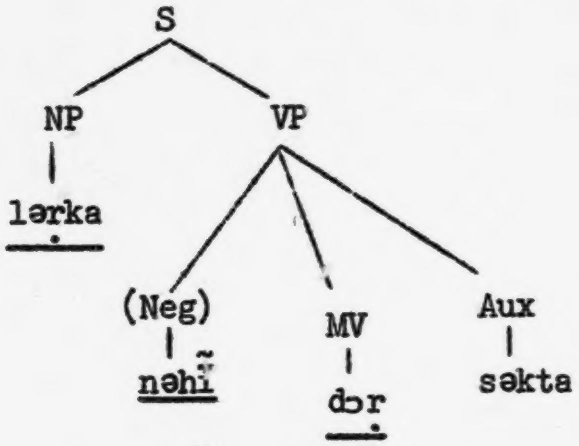
THE SENTENCE TYPES

6.0. THE SENTENCE TYPES

So far we have discussed only the statement type sentences. In this section, we shall discuss the other sentence types, namely the Negatives, the Interrogatives, the Passives, and the Imperatives.

6.1. Negative

Compared with English, the process of deriving negative sentences is very simple in Hindi.[1] The negative particles nə and nəhĩ always occur in the pre-V position. The relation of the negative element to the other constituents of a sentence can be shown by the following diagram:



ləṛka nəhĩ dɔṛ səkta

'The boy cannot run.'

The choice of a negative element has the following effect on the surface form of the sentence:

(i) The negative particle occurs between Predicate complement and the V hona, e.g.,

vəh əccha nəhĩ hɛ

'He is not good.'

vəh ghər mẽ nəhĩ hɛ

'He is not at home.'

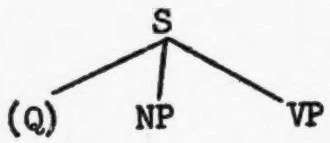
(ii) The Aux *hɛ* following the aspect markers -*ta* and -*ya* is deleted:

mɛ̃ jata hū̃	*mɛ̃ nəhī̃ jata*
'I go'	'I don't go'
usne yəh kitab pəṛhī hɛ	*usne yəh kitab nəhī̃ pəṛhī*
'She has read this book'	'She hasn't read this book.'

Note that, historically, the particle *nəhī̃* is derived from the negative particle *nə* + the verb *ho*.

6.2. Interrogative [2]

Just as in English, in Hindi too, one could question either the whole sentence, or some element such as the Adj, the Adv or the V of a sentence. It is therefore correct to assume that the question element is related to the whole sentence, i.e.,



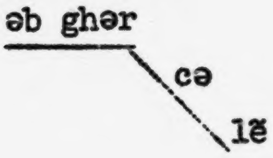
This diagram makes it clear that Q is an optional element; that is, all sentences need not be questions.

Notice what happens if the Q element is selected by comparing the statement and the question sentences given below:

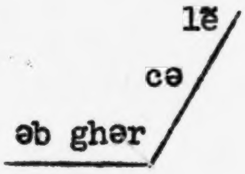
Statement	Question
ram cəla gəya	*kya ram cəla gəya*?
'Ram left.'	'Did Ram leave?'
əb ghər cəlẽ	*əb ghər cəlẽ*?
'let us go home now.'	'Shall we go home now?'

Either the question particle *kya* precedes the NP and the VP of the sentence, or the intonation undergoes a change, which is symbolized by the question-mark (?).

The normal intonation of statement is:



The intonation of kya - sentence is similar, but the intonation of the kya-less sentence is:



Besides the Q-element, there is at least one other interrogative morpheme which determines which element of the sentence is to be questioned. For instance, consider the following sentence:

thəka	rahī	peṛ	ke	nīce	aram	se	so	rəha	tha
'tired'	'traveller'	'tree'	'of'	'under'	'peace'	'with'	'sleep-ing'		'was'

'The tired traveller was sleeping peacefully under the tree.'

All the elements of this sentence can be questioned:

Subject	kɔn peṛ ke nīce aram se so rəha tha? 'Who was sleeping peacefully under the tree?'
Verb	thəka rəhī peṛ ke nīce aram se kya kər rəha tha? 'What was the tired traveller doing peacefully under the tree?'
Adverb of Place	thəka rahī kəhã aram se so rəha tha? 'Where was the tired traveller sleeping peacefully?'
Adjective	kɛsa rahī peṛ ke nīce aram se so rəha tha? 'What kind of traveller was sleeping peacefully under the tree?'

Manner Adverb   thəka rahī peṛ ke nīce kɛse so rəha tha?

'How was the tired traveller sleeping under the tree?

All these sentences are questions; obviously they are all preceded by the Q element. How does the question element get attached to Subject, Object, Verb, etc? Note that an element K- was posited in the DET system of the NP (See section 4.2.). In a sentence which contains the Q element, it attaches to the category that is preceded by k-, e.g.,

$$\underbrace{Q \;-\; \underline{\text{k-}} + N\,[\text{animate}]}_{\underline{\text{kɔn}}\ \text{'who'}} \;-\; \underline{\text{so rəha tha}}$$

so rəha tha
'was sleeping'

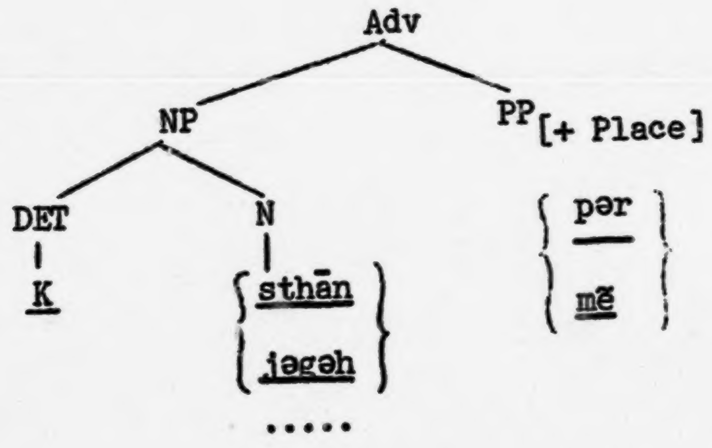
$$\text{thəka rahī} \;-\; \underbrace{Q \;-\; \text{k-} + \text{Adverb of Place}}_{\underline{\text{kəhã}}\ \text{'where'}} \;-\; \underline{\text{so rəha tha}}$$

thəka rahī
'the tired traveller'

kəhã
'where'

so rəha tha
'was sleeping'

Note that the Adv of Place in this case has the internal structure:



In other words, the Adv kəhã 'where' is viewed, according to this interpretation, as a variant of kis $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{sthān}}\\ \underline{\text{jəgəh}}\end{matrix}\right\} \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{pər}\\ \underline{\text{mẽ}}\end{matrix}\right\} \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{'at'}\\ \text{'in'}\end{matrix}\right\}$ which place?

The following combinations of Q + K- + category of word result in the following interrogative forms

Q + K- + N (animate) = kɔn 'who'

Q +K- + N (inanimate) = kya 'what'

Q + K- + Adjective = kɛsa 'of what kind'

Q + K- + Manner Adverb = kɛse 'how'

Q + K- + Reason = kyõ 'why'

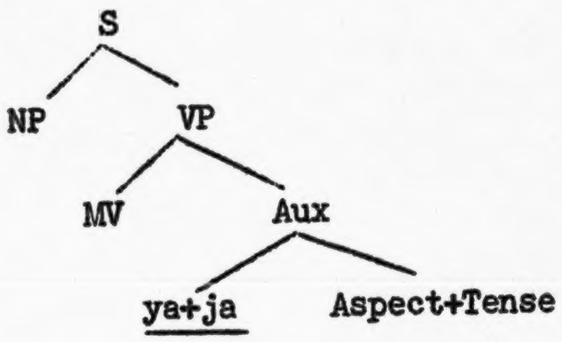
Q + K- + Time = kəb 'when'

Q + K- + Place = kəhã 'where'

Q + K- + Directional Adverb = kidhər 'in what direction'

6.3. Passive. It has already been said that one of the constituent elements of the Aux is the passive-marker ya + ja (cf. 3.9.).

A sentence of the form:



is a passive sentence.

Compare the following non-passive and passive sentences:

Non-Passive	Passive
ram cəla	ram se cəla gəya
'ram''left'	'Ram''by''was''left'
'Ram left.'	
nɔkər bazar nəhĩ jata	nɔkər se bazar nəhĩ jaya jata
'servant''bazar''not''goes'	'servant''by''bazar''not''is''gone'
'The servant does not go to the bazar'	

Non-Passive	Passive
sīta miṭhaī nəhī̃ khatī	sīta se miṭhaī nəhī̃ khaī jatī
'Sita''sweets''not''eats'	'Sita''by''sweets''not''is''eaten'
'Sita does not eat sweets.'	'The sweets are not eaten by Sita.'
mohən ne moṭər cəlaī	mohən se moṭər cəlaī gəī
'Mohan''car''drove'	'Mohan''by''car''was driven''
'Mohan drove the car.'	'The car was driven by Mohan.'

The differences between the two sets are underlined, and they consist of the passive marker ya+ja following the V, and the post-position se following the Subject N.[3]

Since the Subject N is in the oblique case and is followed by a post-position, the V agrees with the Direct Object N in the last two sentences. In the first two sentences, the V's are Intransitive and do not agree with any N. The agreement rules for the passive sentences can be stated as follows (which supplement the agreement rules given in 3.3. pp. 40).

(i) when a transitive V sentence is passivized, if the Direct Object N is not followed by ko, the V agrees with the Direct Object in number and gender in all aspects and tenses.

ləṛke se ciṭṭhi nəhī̃ likhī jatī

'boy''by''letter''not''is''written'

'The letter is not written by the boy.'

ləṛke se ciṭṭhi nəhī̃ likhī jaegī

'boy''by''letter''not''will''be''written'

'The letter will not be written by the boy.'

(ii) If, however, the Direct Object is also followed by a post-position (ko), the V remains in its unmarked form in all aspects and tenses.

dhobī se kəprõ ko dhoya jaega

'dhobi''by''clothes''will be washed'

'The clothes will be washed by the dhobi.'

mohən se moṭər ko cəlaya jaega

'Mohan''by''car''will be driven'

'The car will be driven by Mohan.'

(iii) The above agreement rules apply to all Transitive and Double Object V's:

šyam se kitab nəhī̃ laī gəī

'Shyam''by''book''not''was brought'

'The book was not brought by Shyam.'

mohən se sohən ko ciṭṭhī likhī gəī

'Mohan''by''Sohan''to''letter''was written'

'The letter was written by Mohan to Sohan.'

The passive marker ya+ja has a capabilitative meaning also. A sentence such as the following:

ram se pətr nəhī̃ likha gəya

means either 'Ram could not write a letter.'

or 'The letter was not written by Ram.'

The passives of Vi sentences always have a capabilitative meaning:

ram se thəkavəṭ ke mare cəla nəhī̃ gəya

'Ram'by''fatigue''owing to''was not walked'

'Ram was not capable of walking as he was too tired.'

The passives of Vt also have similar meaning, e.g.,

ram se kitab nəhī̃ xərīdī gəī

'ram''by''book''not''was bought'

'Ram was not capable of buying the book.'

but:

aj koī ciṭṭhī nəhī̃ likhī gəī

'today''any''letter''not''was written'

'No letter was written today.'

Hindi also has another construction to equal the English passive, e.g., the English sentence:

"This book was not written by Hemingway."

is to be translated into Hindi not by:

yəh kitab hemingve se nəhī̃ likhī gəī

'This''book''Hemingway''by''not''was written'

but rather by:

yəh kitab hemingve kī likhī huī nəhī̃ hɛ

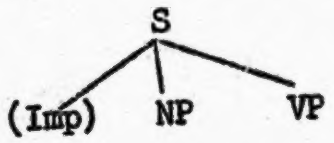
'This''book''Hemingway''of''written''not''is'

where hemingve kī likhī huī is an instance of AP. This construction has been discussed in 5.1.2. (see pages 156-57).

6.4. Imperative:[4]

As has already been said, Hindi makes a three-way distinction in second person Pronouns: singular and plural non-Honorific forms (tū and tum respectively), and a Honorific form (ap)(cf. section 4.4.).

The structure of the imperative sentence is as follows:



That is, like the Q-element, the Imp(erative) element is also optional, and if chosen precedes the NP and VP constituents of the sentence. The presence of the Imp ensures the choice of either a second person pronoun, or a vocative[5] form of the N under NP, and appropriate number, and gender and person features under the Aux. For instance:

(*tū*) *ja*	'(you(sg.)) go!'
(*tum*) *jao*	'(you (pl.)) go!'
(*ap*) *jaiye*	'(you (Hon.)) go!'
ram, *idhər a*	'Ram, come here!'(Intimate)
ram, *idhər ao*	'Ram, come here! (Familiar)
ram, *idhər aiye*	'Ram, please come here! (Honorific)

Notice that if the second person Pronouns are chosen, they are deleted (unless there is an emphasis morpheme present) and the imperative sentence consists of the VP only:

cəla ja	'go away!'(Sg. Intimate)
cəle jao	'go away!' (Pl. Familiar)
cəle jaiye	'please go away!' (Honorific)

If, however, the vocative form of the N is chosen, it is not deleted. The agreement features are according to whether the vocative N is marked Intimate, Familiar, or Honorific.

The Infinitive of the Verb is used as a polite Imperative with the second person plural, familar form:

(tum) kəl cəle jana

which means 'go tomorrow (not today)!

6.4.1. The Negative Imperative is formed in the same way as other Negative sentences (cf. 6.1.), except that the Negative particle is *mət* or *nə* instead of *nəhĩ*.

For example:

mət ja	'don't go' (sg. Intimate)
mət jao	'don't go'(pl. familiar)
nə jaiye	'please don't go' (Honorific)

The following differ in attitude from the above:

əbhī nə jao	''don't go now' (request)
əbhī mət jaiye	'please don't go now' (slight intimacy)

Note that the Negative particle *mət* used in Imperative sentences implies command, it is therefore used with Honorific only when a slight intimacy is implied. Similarly, *nə* implies request, and as such is used with the plural familiar form of the second person pronoun (*tum*) but not with the singular intimate form of the second person pronoun (*tu*).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For a detailed discussion of Negation in English see:

   Edward S. Klima, "Negation in English" in Fodor and Katz, editors, The Structure of Language: Readings in the Philosophy of Language, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1964.

2. The interrogative constructions in English have been discussed in the following works:

   Jerrold J. Katz and Paul M. Postal, An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1964.

   Noam Chomsky, Syntactic Structures, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1957.

3. The passive construction in English has been treated in detail in the following:

   Noam Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1965; Syntactic Structures, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1957.

   Bruce Fraser, "Passive Constructions in English," LSA Winter Meeting, 1964 (unpublished)

   George Lakoff, On the Nature of Syntactic Irregularity, Harvard Computation Laboratory, Report NSF-17, 1965.

   Robert B. Lees, "On Passives and Imperatives in English," in Gengo Kenkyo, No. 46, 1965.

4. See the following works on English Imperatives:

   Robert B. Lees, "On Passives and Imperatives in English", Gengo Kenkyo No. 46, 1965.

   James P. Thorne, "English Imperative Sentences," in Journal of Linguistics, Vol. 2, No. 1, April 1966.

5. Note that if this formulation of the Imperative is accepted, then a three-term case system for Hindi Nouns is to be accepted (see 4.3., p.130). In all cases, then, the vocative case will be realized as zero in the surface structure

CONJUNCTION

7.0. CONJUNCTION

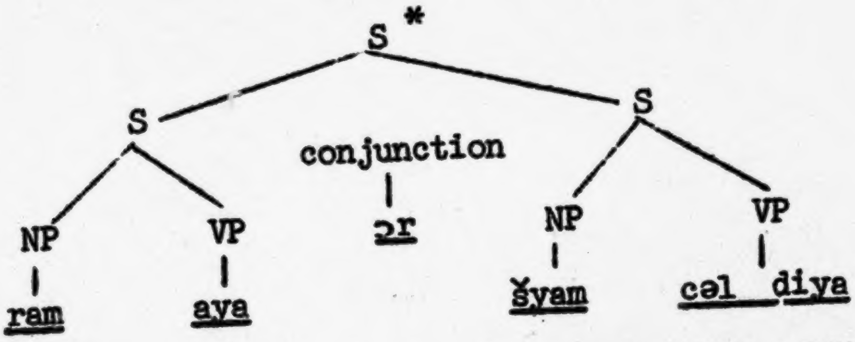
Various Sub-ordinate Conjunctions have already been discussed in sections on NP (cf.3.0.), VP (cf.4.0.) and Adj's and Adv's (cf. 5.0.). In this section, some remarks will be made on other types of conjunctions.[1]

7.1. What makes conjunctions distinct is the fact that when two (or more) sentences are conjoined, neither is subordinate to the other. For instance, in the following compound sentence, both the member-sentences or conjuncts are independent:

ram aya ɔr šyam cəl diya

'Ram came and Shyam left.'

The deep structure of conjoined sentences is therefore diagrammed as follows:



The starred S^* is composed of two independent sentences which are conjoined by a Conjunction (e.g., ɔr 'and' in this example). Notice that although it appears as though any category of words can be conjoined, in fact only sentences can be conjoined in the deep structure. For example, the following sentence is derived from the string given below it:

səb ləṛke ɔr ləṛkiyā̃ bɛṭh gəye

'All the boys and girls sat down.'

səb ləṛke bɛṭh gəye ɔr səb ləṛkiyā̃ bɛṭh gəī̃

'All the boys sat down and all the girls sat down.'

Similarly, the sentence:

am pəke ɔr mĩṭhe hɛ̃

'Mangoes are ripe and sweet.'

is derived from:

am pəke hɛ̃ ɔr am mĩṭhe hɛ̃

'Magoes are ripe and mangoes are sweet.'

The deletion of the identical items of the compound sentences gives us the conjoined NP's and Adj's in the examples above.

This assumption is supported by the fact that given a sentence:

am pəke hɛ̃ ɔr kele mĩṭhe hɛ̃

'The mangoes are ripe and the bananas are sweet.'

we can not reduce it to:

* am pəke ɔr mĩṭhe hɛ̃

The only possible reduction is:

am pəke ɔr kele mĩṭhe hɛ̃

'Mangoes''ripe''and''bananas''sweet''are'

7.2. The following are conjunctions in Hindi:

Coordinate Conjunctions:	ɔr 'and'
Disjunctive Conjunction:	ya, va, əthva 'or'
Negative Disjunctive:	nə ... nə 'Neither - nor'
	nəhĩ to 'otherwise'
Adversative Conjunction:	pər, pərəntu, kintu, lekin, bəlki 'but'

The general rule for Conjunctions is that the strings conjoined by conjunctions must have 'like' structures. For instance, the following is grammatical:

kuli ne bəṛī furtī ɔr asanī se bəksa uṭha liya

'The porter picked up the box with great speed and ease.'

where *furtī se* 'with speed' and *asanī se* 'with ease' are both Manner Adv's. But, the following Conjunction is not grammatical:

* *ram ko dhū̃p ɔr upənyas pəṛhna pəsənd hɛ*

'Ram likes sun and to read novels.'

where *dhū̃p* is an instance of NP, and *upənyas pəṛhna* is a Nominalization of an S.

Similarly, the following are grammatical:

mɛ̃ ram ya uskī pətnī se milna cahta hū̃

'I want to meet Ram or his wife.'

vəh ləkhnəū ya dillī janevala tha

'He was to go to Lucknow or Delhi.'

where *ram* and *uskī pətnī* are both NP's, and *ləkhnəū* and *dillī* are both Adv's of Place. The following, however, are not grammatical:

* *ram roṭī pəkana ya sīta ko cahta hɛ*

'Ram loves to cook roti or Sita?'

* *ram bəṛe utsah se ya šyam ke sath jaega*

'Ram will go with great enthusiasm or with Shyam.'

Notice that when two NP's are joined by the Coordinate Conjunction *ɔr*, the NP which dominates them is plural, and when two NP's are joined by the Disjunctive Conjunction *ya*, the NP which dominates them is singular.

mohən ɔr sohən bɛṭhe

'Mohan and Sohan sat.'

mohən ya sohən bɛṭha

'Mohan or Sohan sat.'

The Adversative Conjunctions *pər* 'but' etc. have a special characteristic. In some sense, the Conjunct that follows the Conjunction *pər* must be unexpected or contrary to the conjunct that precedes it. For instance:

mã anevali thī̃, pər nəhī̃ aī̃

'Mother was to have come, but didn't.'

mɛ̃ ne ram ko bəhut roka, pər vəh cəla hī gəya

'I tried my best to stop Ram, but he left all the same.'

The structures that are not contraryto each other can not be conjoined by *pər*, e.g., the following are ungrammatical:

* *ram pər Sy̌am hə̆sa*

* Ram but Shyam laughed.'

It has to be:

ram hə̃sa, pər šyam nəhī̃ hə̆sa

'Ram laughed, but Shyam didn't laugh.'

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For work on English conjunction see the following:

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1. STUDIES ON GENERAL LINGUISTICS AND SYNTAX OF ENGLISH

2. STUDIES ON SYNTAX AND LEXIS OF HINDI

It is a select . bibliography and does not include all the references mentioned in the sections "Notes and References" which follow each chapter of the book.

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II

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GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

All the Hindi words that occur in the text are listed below along with their English equivalents. The words are listed according to the alphabetical order of Devanāgarī used for Hindi. The following are pointed out for the convenience of those who are not familiar with this order;

(a) The variants x, z and f immediately follow kh, j and ph respectively;

(b) The syllabic r̩ has been transcribed ri and has been treated as a sequence of r and i;

(c) kṣ and tr have been treated as sequences of consonants;

(d) ṛ and ṛh follow the consonants of the retroflex series; and

(e) the nasalized vowels precede the oral vowels.

In the case of Nouns and Adjectives, only the basic forms (i.e., the Masculine/Feminine Singular Direct Case forms) have been listed. In the case of Pronouns, the Oblique case forms are also given with cross-references to the Direct Case forms. The Verbs have been listed in their Infinitive forms only. Where relevant, the appropriate sub-class to which the V belongs is also mentioned, with reference to its other derived (Transitive, Causative, etc.) forms mentioned in the text.

əkəsmat	'suddenly'
əxbar (m)	'newspaper'
əccha	'good'
əṛna	'to stall,''to insist'*
əngūr (m)	'grapes'
əngrezī (Adj.)	'English'
(ke) əndər	'inside'
əndha (Adj.)	'blind'
əb	'now'
əbhinəy (m)	'acting'
əbhī	'just now,''right now'

* For other forms of all starred (*) Verbs listed in the Glossary, see the Verb lists in Section 3.

axirī	'last'
aj	'today'
adər (m)	'respect'
admī (m)	'man'
adha	'half'
ana	'to come'
ap	'you' (Honorific)
am (m)	'mango(es)'
aram (m)	'peace,''rest'
alsī	'lazy'
asanī (f)	'ease'
inam (m)	'reward'
inc (m)	'inch'
itna	'to this extent'
itna ki	'so much that'
idhər	'in this direction'
indira	'Indira'
(iski əlava)...bhī	'in addition to,' 'also'
ukhəṛna	'to be uprooted'*
uchəlna	'to leap'
uṭhna	'to rise'*
utərna	'to get down'*
uttər (m)	'north'
utsah (m)	'enthusiasm'
udhər	'in that direction'
ubəlna	'to boil'*
uməṛna	'to overflow'
uṛna	'to fly'*
us	Oblique of vəh
ek	'one,''a'
oṛhna	'to cover (oneself)'*
kəī	'many'
kətna	'to be spun'*
kəpṛa (m)	'cloth'
kəb	'when'
kəbūlna	'to accept'
kəməl (m)	'lotus'
kəmana	'to earn'
kəm se kəm...to	'at least'
kərana	Causative of kərna
kərīb	'almost,''near'
kərna	'to do'
kərnevala (m)	'doer'
kəl	'yesterday,''tomorrow'
kəlkətta	'Calcutta'
kəlpəna-šəkti (f)	'power of imagination'
kəvi	'poet'
kəhā̃	'where'
kəhna	'to say'*

kaṭna	'to cut' Transitive of kəṭna.
kam (m)	'jobs,''work'
ki	'that'
ke dvara	'by,''through'
kitab (f)	'book'
kitna	'how much many ?'
kinara (m)	'bank' (of a river)
kilo	'kilogram'
kisan (m)	'peasant'
kisī həd tək	'to some extent'
kī əpekṣa	'than'
kuch	'something,''a little,' 'some'
kutta (m)	'dog'
kulhəṛī (f)	'axe'
kursī (f)	'chair'
kūṭna	'to pound'
kūdna	'to jump'*
ke	Possessive marker
ke əndər	'inside'
ke pas	Possessive or 'near'
ke liye	'for'
kẽcī (f)	'scissors'
ko	Possessive or 'to'
koī	'someone,''some'
kɔn	'who?,''which?'

kɔn sa	'which one?'
kɔva (m)	'crow'
kleš (m)	'trouble'
khəṭṭa	'sour'
khərīdna	'to buy'*
khãsna	'to cough'
khana	'to eat'
khaskər...to	'especially'
khīcna	'to be pulled'*
khilɔna (m)	'toy'
khilna	'to bloom'
khudna	'to be dug'*
khulna	'to open,' 'to be opened'
khūbsūrət	'beautiful'
khelna	'to play'*
khojna	'to search'
kholna	'to open' Transitive of khulna.
xətm kərna	'to finish'
xərīdna	see khərīdna
xuš	'pleased'
gərəjta hua	'roaring'
gərəjna	'to roar'
gəlna	'to melt'*
gana	'to sing'*
gay (f)	'cow'
ginna	'to count'

girna	'to fall'*
gīla	'wet'
golī	'bullet'
gvala	'milkman'
ghəṭna	'to be subtracted'*
ghəṇṭa (m)	'hour'
ghəṛa (m)	'pot'
ghər (m)	'home,''house'
ghayəl	'wounded'
ghirna	'to be surrounded'*
ghisna	'to be rubbed'*
ghuṭna (m)	'knees'
ghulna	'to dissolve'*
ghusana	'to push' (Transitive of ghusna)
ghusna	'to enter'
ghūmna	'to wander'*
ghoṛa (m)	'horse'
cəkhna	'to taste'*
cəṭna	'to be licked'*
cəṭnī (f)	'chutney'
cəṛhna	'to climb'*
cəlna	'to walk,''to move'
cakū (m)	'knife'
car	'four'
carõ	'all the four'

calak	'clever'
cavəl (m)	'rice'
cahna	'to want'
cillana	'to shout,''to scream'
ciṛiya (f)	'bird'
cīnī (f)	'sugar'
cukna	'to be paid,''to be used up'*
cunna	'to select'*
curana	'to steal'
cūna	'to leak'
cūmna	'to kiss'*
cɔ̃kna	'to be startled'*
cor	'thief'
chət (f)	'roof'
chəpna	'to be printed' *
chatr (m)	'student'
chapna	'to print' Transitive of chəpna.
chala (m)	'Blister'
chidna	'to be pierced'*
chinna	'to be snatched'*
chipna	'to hide'*
chĩkna	'to sneeze'
chūṭna	'to be left,''to leave'
chuṭṭī	'leave' (Noun)
chūṭna	'to be free'*

cheṛna	'to instigate'
choṭa	'small'
choṛna	'to leave,''to let go'
jãcna	'to appeal to,''to appear'
jəgəh (f)	'place'
jəgna	'to wake up'*
jənna	'to give birth to'
jəb tək...təb tek	'till'
jəb...təb	'when...then'
jəmna	'to freeze'*
jəlna	'to burn'*
jəhã	'where'
jãcna	'to examine'*
jana	'to go'
janna	'to know'
jitna-utna	'as much as'
jis	Oblique case of jo
jījī	'elder sister'
jītna	'to win'*
jīna	'to be alive'*
juṛna	'to be added,''to be stuck together'
jɛnendr	Proper name
jo	'who,''which'
joṛa	'pair'
jotna	'to yoke'*

jyõ hī...tyõ hī	'as soon as'
jhəpkī (f)	'nap'
jhəlna	'to fan'*
jhīl (f)	'lake'
jhukna	'to bend'
jhūlna	'to swing,''to dangle'*
jhopṛa (m)	'hut'
zərūr	'sure,''certainly'
zahir	'obvious'
zor (m)	'loudness,''strength'
zyada	'much,''more'
ṭə̃gna	'to hang'*
ṭəhəlna	'to wander'
ṭikana	'to prop'
ṭuṭna	'to break'*
ṭopī (f)	'cap'
ṭhənḍa	'cold'
ṭhəhərna	'to stay'*
ḍãṭna	'to scold'*
ḍərna	'to fear'*
ḍakṭər (m)	'doctor'
ḍal (f)	'branch'
ḍalna	'to put,''to add to'
ḍūbna	'to drown'*
ḍhə̃kna	'to cover'*

ḍhəlna	'to be poured,''to set'*
ḍhũṛhna	'to search'*
ḍhona	'to carry'
təgṛa	'strong'
təṛke	'early'
tənna	'to be taut'*
təb	'then'
təlašna	'to look for'*
timənjila	'three-storied'
tum	'you' (plural)
tulna	'to be weighed'*
tū	'thou'
tez	'bright,''fast'
tezī (f)	'brighten,''speed'
thəkna	'to tire'
tha	'was,' Past tense form of the Tense Auxiliary ho
dəbna	'to be pressed'*
dəyakišən	Proper Name
dərzən	'dozen'
dərvaza (m)	'door'
dəlna	'to grind'*
din (m)	'day'
dilana	'to cause to give'*
dilcəsp	'interesting'
dukandar (m)	'shopkeeper'
duguna	'twofold'
dutəlla	'two storied'
dudharu	'productive' (used only for cows, goats, etc.)
duhna	'to milk'*
dūdh	'milk'
dūsra	'second'
dekhna	'to see'*
dena	'to give'*
der (f)	'lateness' 'delay'
dɔṛna	'to run'*
do	'two'
donõ	'both'
drišy	'scene'
dhaī	'wet nurse'
dhunna	'to gin'*
dhulna	'to be washed'*
dhobī (m)	'washerman' (a professional who washes clothes).
nə	Negative Particle
nəcana	'to swirl'
nədī	'river'
nənəd	'husband's sister'
nəya	'new'
nəhana	'to bathe'
nəhĩ	'not'

naṭək (m)	'plays'
nanajī	'grandfather' (Maternal)
nikəlna	'to come out'*
nigəlna	'to swallow'*
nirala	'unique'
nirdoṣ	'innocent'
(ke) nīce	'under'
nɔkər (m)	'servant'
nyayaləy (m)	'court'
pəkəṛna	'to catch'*
pəkna	'to be cooked'*
pəṛosī (m)	'neighbor'
pəṛna	'to lie down'
pəṛhna	'to read'*
pətəng (f)	'kite'
pəti	'husband'
pətnī	'wife'
pətr (m)	'letters'
pətther (m)	'stone'
pər	'on,''at'
pərəspər	'each other'
pərimaṇ (m)	'quantity'
pəlna	'to grow,''to be brought up'*
pəsənd	'liking'
pəhənna	'to wear
pəhũcna	'to arrive'*
pəhredar (m)	'guard'
pəhla	'first'
pā̃v	'foot'
pana	'to find'
panī (m)	'water'
pav	'quarter seer'or quarter of two pounds'
pitajī	a form of address for Father.
piṭna	'to be hit'*
pilane	Double Transitive of pīna, 'to drink'
pisna	'to be pulverized'*
(ka) pīcha kərna	'to follow,''to chase'
pīna	'to drink'*
pukarna	'to call'
pūchna	'to ask'
pūjna	'to worship'*
peṛ (m)	'tree'
pɛdəl	'on foot'
pɛsa (m)	'money'
pō̃chna	'to wipe'
pyala (m)	'cup'
prəšensa (f)	'praise'

prəsiddh	'famous'
prapt	'available'
phəṭna	'to be torn'*
phãdna	'to spring'
phũṭna	'to be broken' *
phɛlna	'to be spread'*
fərš	'floor'
bə̃dhna	'to be tied'*
bəkna	'to babble'
bəcca	'child'
bəjna	'to be played'*
bəjna	'to strike'
bəṭua (m)	'wallet'
bəṛa	'very,''big'
bəṛhna	'to grow'*
bətlana	'to tell'
bədəlna	'to change'*
bənana	'to make' Transitive of bənna.
bəndər (m)	'monkey'
bəndūk (f)	'gun'
bənna	'to be made'
bərəsna	'to rain'
bərabərī	'equality'
(bəs)...hī	'only'
(ke) bəkər	'out'
bəhut	'very'
bəhū	'daughter-in-law'
bəhna	'to flow'
bãṭna	'to distribute'
bagh (m)	'tiger'
bat (f)	'fact,''statement,' 'matter'
bikna	'to be sold'*
bijlī (f)	'lightning'
billī (f)	'cat'
bītna	'to be spent'
bīmar	'ill'
bujhna	'to go out' (i.e. lamp)*
buḍḍha	'old man'
buddhiman	'intelligent'
bura	'bad'
bulana	'to call'*
becna	'to sell'*
becnevala	'seller'
beṭa	'son'
behoš	'unconscious'
bɛṭhna	'to sit'*
bɛṭhnevala	'sitter'
botəl (f)	'bottle'
bona	'to plant'*
bolna	'to speak,''to tell'
bhagna	'to run'
bhagyəvan	'fortunate'

bharət	'India'
bharī	'heavy'
bhaṣəṇ	'lecture,''speech'
bhikharī	'beggar'
bhīgna	'to get drenched'*
bhī	'too'
bhejna	'to send'*
bhū̃k (f)	'bark' (of a dog)
bhū̃kna	'to bark'
bhūlna	'to forget'
bhɛ̃s (f)	'buffalo'
məkan (m)	'house'
məzak (m)	'fun,''joke'
məzdūr(fem.-in)	'laborer'
mət	negative particle
məndir (m)	'temple'
mərna	'to die'
məšīn (f)	'machine'
məhə̃gā	'costly'
məhīna	'month'
mə̄̃jna	'to be cleaned' (i.e. pots) *
mã	'mother'
mãd (f)	'den'
matra (f)	'extent,''quantity'
manna	'to accept,''to consider'*
marna	'to hit'

malik (m)	'master'
malin	'flower-girl'
malūm (hona)	'to be known'
miṭna	'to be wiped away'*
mitr (m)	'friend'
milna	'to accrue,''to meet'
mīṭha	'sweet'
mujh	Oblique Case of mɛ̃ 'I'
munna	'little boy'
mūrkh	'fool'
mū̃h (m)	'mouth'
mẽ	'in'
mez (f)	'table'
mehnətī	'industrious'
mɛ̃	'I'
moṭər (f)	'car'
mol (m)	'cost'
yəh	'this'
yəhã	'here'
(yəhã tək ki)...bhī	'even'
rə̃gna	'to dye'*
rəkhna	'to keep,''to put'*
rəṭna	'to learn by heart'*
rəsoiya (m)	'cook'
rəhna	'to stay'
rəhnevala	'one who lives or stays'

raja	'king'
rat (f)	'night'
radha	'Radha' (name)
ram	'Ram' (name)
rah (f)	'path'
rahī	'traveller'
rukna	'to stay,''to stop'*
roz	'every day'
rona	'to cry,''to weep'*
ləgna	'to appear to,''to be felt'
ləṭṭū	'tops'
ləṛka	'boy'
ləṛna	'to quarrel'
lədna	'to be loaded'*
ləmba	'tall'
ləlita	girl's name
laṭhī	'stick'
lana	'to bring'
lal	'red'
likhna	'to write'*
luṭna	'to be robbed'*
lena	'to take'*
log	'people'
lɔṭana	'to return'*
vəh	'he,''she,''it,''that'
vəhā̃	'there'
vyayam	'exercise'
šəkuntəla	'Shakuntala'
šərarətī	'mischievous'
šəhər (m)	'city'
šam (f)	'evening'
šikar (m)	'prey'
šer (m)	'lion'
šyam	Boy's name
səkna	'to be able to'
sətkhəṇḍa	'of seven parts'
səntəra (m)	'orange'
səb	'all'
səbək (f)	'lesson'
səməjhna	'to understand,''to consider'
səmapt	'finished'
sā̃p (m)	'serpent'
saikil (f)	'bicycle'
(ke) sath	'with,''company'
sanna	'to mix'*
saf	'clean'
sal (m)	'year'
savdhanī (f)	'care'
sī̃cna	'to be irrigated'*
siddh	'proven'
sipahī (m)	'constable'
sirdərd (m)	'headache'

sirf	'only'
(sirf)...hī	'only'
silna	'to be sewn'*
sīkhna	'to learn'*
sīna	'to sew' Transitive of silna 'to be sewn'
suḍhərna	'to be mended'*
sunna	'to hear'*
subəh (f)	'morning'
suləgna	'to be lit'*
sulana	'to put to sleep' Transitive of sona 'to sleep'
susəmacar (m)	'good news'
sūkhna	'to dry'*
se	'with,''from,''by'
ser	'seer,''two pounds'
socna	'to think'
sona	'to sleep'
sɔ̃pna	'to hand over'
spəṣṭ	'clear'
svasthy (m)	'health'
hə̃sna	'to laugh'*
həṭna	'to move away'*
həd (f)	'extent'
həm	'we'
harna	'to lose' (i.e., a battle)*
hindī	'Hindi'
himaləy	'Himalayas'
hilna	'to be shaken'*
hɛ	'is' Present tense form of the Tense Auxiliary ho
ho	'to be,''to become', Tense Auxiliary

INDEX

INDEX

A.

Adams, M. T. 4
Adjectival Expression, complex 141
Adjectivalizations 157
Adjective
  attributive 139
  base 139,150
  derived 139,150
  underlying 165
Adjective Phrase 38,137,139
  agentive 157
  derived 141
  present participial 151 ff
  past participial 154 ff
  structure of 140 ff
Adjectivizer 155
Adverb
  concomitive 161
  comparative 163
  Manner 160,162,165, 191
  Possessive 106
  Sentence 167
  Type of 159
Adverbial
  Degree 140,161
  Derived 161
  element 140
  Instrumental 28,71,160
  Locational/place 104, 106, 160, 191
  Possessive 104,105
  present participial 168
  Purpose 104,114
  Time 159,162
Adverb Phrase 104
Allen, W. S. 8
Auxiliary
  Aux 61,65,85,86,89,91
Aspect 89,91
  marker 86,89
  Durative 57,86,151,169
  Imperfective 86
  Perfective 43,57,86
Element 66,69,170
Ending,non-finite 89
Modal 37,57,85
Passive
  Marker 85,181,182,183

- Tense
  - forms 61
  - marker 87,90
  - future marker 89
  - Imperfect 86
  - Optative 89
  - Perfect 86
  - Proximate future 85
  - Simple past 171
- Avadhi 2

B

- Bahl, Kalicharan 19
- Beams, J. 7
- Braj 2
- Burton-Page, J. G. 8

C

- Case 130
  - Direct 130
  - Oblique 43,44,130
  - Vocative 185
- Causal
  - first 64
  - form 62,64,70
- Causative
  - agent 62,63,64,68,70,71
  - marker 67
- Causativization 64,69
  - of V 71
  - one level of 71
  - process of 70
  - two levels of 71
- Chatterji, Suniti Kumar 7
- Chomsky, Noam A. 11,15,16
- Comparator 146,150
- Comparison, Process of 148
- Complement 13,82,112
  - Adjectival 82
  - Adverbial 83
    - Imperfect participial 84, 185
    - Perfect participial 83,85
  - Nominal 82
  - NP 111,112,113,114
    - oblique 114
  - Predicate 38
  - Sentential 34,113,114,115,116.
  - Verbal 34,82
- Complementizer 118,148,149
- Components
  - Phonological 15

  - Semantic 15
  - Syntactic 15
- Conjunct 189
- Conjunction 190
  - Adversative 192,192
  - Coordinate 190,191
  - Disjunctive 190,191
  - Negative 190
  - Subordinate 189
  - Rule for 191
- Constructions
  - Double Object 92
  - Ergative 93
  - Impersonal 42,43,44
  - ne 45
  - Objectival 42,44,45
  - Subjectival 42
  - Superlative 141
  - Comparative 141,161,162
    - sentence, deep structure of 144
    - Time expression 165
- Co-occurrence
    - constraints/restrictions 167

D

- Dative 92
- Degree
  - Constituents of 141
  - S embedded in 164
- Demonstrative 95
  - Proximate 121,123
  - Remote 121,123
- Determiner 35
  - Constituent structure of 124
  - Definite 49,99,121,124,131
  - Indefinite 119,120,124
  - Relative 100
  - System 180

E

- Elements
  - Gen 170
  - Imperative 184
  - K 123,180
  - Negative 177
  - Q 179,184
- Embedding 64,65
- Emphasis morpheme 185
- Ethrington, W. 4
- Extraposition 103

F

Features
    Abstractness 128
    Animation 128
    Countability 128
    Demonstrative 122
        Proximity 122
        Remoteness 122
    Honorific 132
    Humanness 128
    ne 51,57
    PRO 131
Forbes, Duncan 4

G

Gender
    Feminine 130
    Masculine 130
Gilchrist, John B. 3
Grammatical 15
Grammatical relations
    NP of S 30
    NP of V 40
    VP of S 30
Greaves, E. 4,5
Guru, Kamta Prasad 4,5,6,10

H

Hacker, P. 8
Halliday, M.A.K. 10
Hindi Grammar; history of 5,6,7
    traditional grammars 2 ff
    historical grammars 7 ff
    structural descriptions 8 ff
    transformational grammars 18
Hoernnle, A.F.R. 7

K

Kachru, Yamuna 19
Kellogg, S.H. 4,5,7
Ketelaer, Johannes Josua 2,3

L

Lal, Shri 4
Limiter 124
    expressions 123

M

Measure expression 146,149
Measure word 120

N

- Nāgarī, Pracharinī Sabhā 5
- Narain, Vishwajit 8,9
- Nominalization 116,118,191
- Nominalized Phrase 116
- Nominalizing Process 118
- Noun
  - abstract 111,114
  - animate 59,111,130
  - concrete 111
  - Definite 59
  - honorific 111
  - human 111
  - inanimate 71,111
  - Object 44,46,82
  - possessed 110,111
  - possessor 110,111
  - Pro-N 28,163
  - Proper 120
  - Simple 95
  - Subject 43,82,101
  - vocative 185
- Noun Phrase
  - Definite 121
  - Direct and oblique 113
  - extension of 112
  - Structure of 95
- Number 130
  - plural 130
  - singular 130
- Numeral 95
  - Aggregative 121
  - Approximate 120
  - cardinal 95,121
  - collective 120
  - fractional 120
  - multiplicative 120
  - ordinal 95,120

O

- Object 43,63,66
  - Direct 46,49,58,64, 68
  - Double 64,118,183
  - Indirect 64,69,92,93
  - marker 65
  - of the matrix S 85
  - of the verb 34
- Operator 51,52

P.

Particles
    Negative 177,178,185,186
    Question 178
    Subordinating conjunction 168
Phrases
    Agentive 157
    Genitive 96,103,114
    past participial 151,153,172,173
    possessive 106,107
    postpositional 93,140
    present participial 151,166
Platts, John N.
Possessive postpositions 109
Predicate 29,30,36
Pronominal terms 131
    non-honorific form 184
    singular intimate form 186
Pronoun
    Demonstrative 131
    First person 131
    Second person 131,184
    Personal 131
    structure of 130

R.

rank 10,11
Ray, Navinchandra 4
Reduction of the SADV 171
Reduplication 171
Relative clause 98, 99, 101, 103, 105, 106, 107, 124, 139, 153, 156,
    embedding 107
Relativization Process 106, 153, 155, 159
Roebuck, Thomas 3
Rule
    Agreement 40,45,57
    for the passive sentence 182
    Morphophonemic 25,26
    Phonological 26
    Transformational 15

S

Sahai, Ramanath 8,9
Saxena, Baburam 7
Selection restrictions 97
Sentence
    causative 62
    compound 190

conjoined 189

copula 13, 14, 47, 96, 99, 101, 157

embedded 28,33,66,67,69,85,98, 100,101,102,112,115,118, 153,155,157,159, 164

Imperative 177,184,185,186

  Negative 185

  polite 185

  structure of 184

Interrogative 177,178

kya 179

kya-less 179

Matrix 36,65,66,98,100,102,105, 112,115

Negative 177,185

Non-perfective 45

Perfective 45

Question 178

simple 36

statement type 177,178

subject-object type 93

Transitive (verb) 42,48,82

Types 177

Sharma, Aryendra 5,6

Sitarehind, Raja Shiva Prasad 4

Structure

  Constituent 15

  Deep 14,15,16

  Derived 102

  surface 14,15,16

  underlying 14,33,34,68,70

Subject 29,64,66,69

  animate 70

  of the embedded S 85

Subordinate clause 31,34

T

Tewari, Udainarain 6

Transformational Grammar and Language Pedagogy 16 ff

Transformational Grammatical Theory 11,20

U

ungrammatical 15

V

Vajpeyi, Kishoridas 5,6,11

Varma, Dhirendra 7

Verb
  causative 11,66,69,71
  compound 11,19,22,49,50,51, 93
  conjunct 11,19,49,58,59,60, 93
  Double object 71
  Double Transitive 46,48
  finite 28,91
  Imperfect participial form of 83
  Infinitive of 185
  Intransitive 39,45,52,64,70,71, 153,182,
  Main 36,38,40,46,65,
  + ne 52
  - ne
  non-finite form of 90
  non-stative 155
  Perfect participial form of 83
  sequence of 50
  single object 71
  stative 155,156
  Transitive 39, 45,52,64,67,68, 70,153,155,156

Verb Phrase
  Components of 37
  finite 90,139

Verma, Manindra Kishore 19

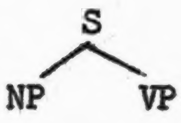
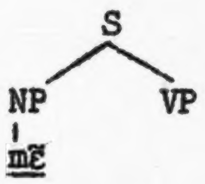
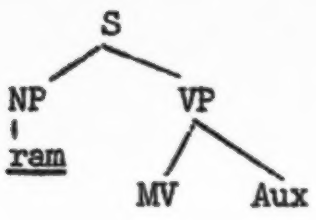
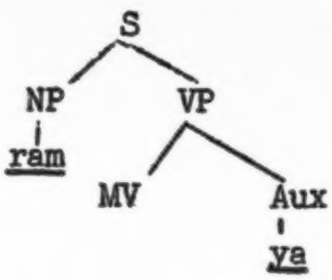
Verma, Shivendra Kumar 10

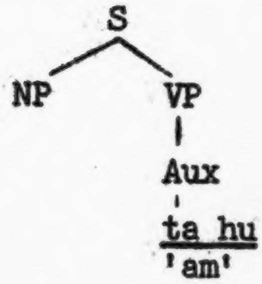
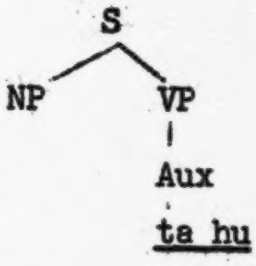
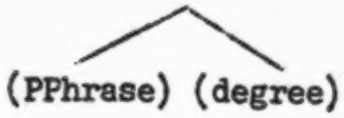
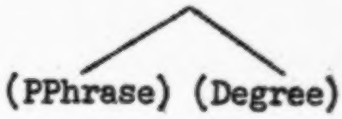
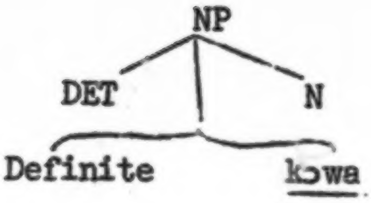
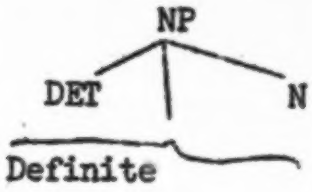
Y

Yates, William 3

ERRATA

Please note the following corrections; this list is not exhaustive.

Page no.	Line	Incorrect	Correct
22	5	reqrite	rewrite
32	10		
57	18	kəṛna	kərna
58	10	followed	followed
"	12	praised	praised
"	14	gave... a lot of trouble	gave .. a lot of trouble
"	16	was waiting	was waiting
60	4	Complex	complex
61	6	3.6.1.	3.6.
63	21	əngur	əngūr
64	12	vi's	vt's
70	2nd diagram	 S NP ram VP MV Aux	 S NP ram VP MV Aux ya
71	5	kisi	kisī
"	""	laṭhi	laṭhī
"	21	A list of ...	A select list of ...
76	3	phuṭna	phūṭna
84	3	bəgice	bəgīce

Page no.	Line	Incorrect	Correct
84	8	bəgice	bəgīce
89	12	models	modals
92	1	Constituents	constituents
95	11	ləṛka	ləṛke
101	diagram	 S NP VP Aux ta hu 'am'	 S NP VP Aux ta hu
124	2nd diagram	$(\left\{\begin{matrix}(\underline{K})\\ \underline{J}\end{matrix}\right\})$	$(\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{K}\\ \underline{J}\end{matrix}\right\})$
126	8	moti	motī
128	1	ādmī	admī
130	14	two cases: direct and oblique	these cases: direct, oblique and vocative (see 6.4. p.185)
131	3	[- PRO]	[+ PRO]
140	2nd diagram	 (PPhrase) (degree)	 (PPhrase) (Degree)
154	11	pəṛ	peṛ
156	diagram	 NP DET N Definite kɔwa	 NP DET N Definite
157	3	usɔ	us:
175	14	yieldɔ	yields:

Page No.	Line	Incorrect	Correct
180	7	k-	K-
188	3	In all cases	In most cases
190	6	magoes	mangoes
194	19	fur	für
202	10	generale	générale